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HUNGARIAN OFFICIAL SPEAKS AT CSCE MEETING

LD202235 Budapest MTI in English 2125 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Vienna, November 20 (MTI) -- In the Thursday session of the Vienna follow-up conference held under Hungarian chairmanship, Jozsef Benyi, Hungarian deputy foreign minister, reported on the results of the successful European cultural forum held in Budapest in October and November 1985. In accordance with the agreements of the Helsinki process, Jozsef Benyi, on behalf of the host country, put forward to the conference of 35 states an objective report on the cultural forum, including the 250 proposals of the participants.

The Budapest forum provided the first occasion for the participants in the CSCE process to discuss cultural issues and it was the first meeting of its kind in a Warsaw Treaty member state, Jozsef Benyi pointed out. The forum was regarded as a success by the participants and termed by prominent statesmen as one of the most important and useful meetings of the Helsinki process. It was by far the largest cultural consultation, attended by almost 1,000 participants, with two thirds prominent cultural personalities. Although there were differences in views on several issues, it was clear from the contributions that there was unanimous agreement that the common cultural heritage of Europe is a binding force. The majority shared the view that progress is a common interest and it is perhaps in the field of culture where the step can be the most easily taken.

Jozsef Benyi said that Hungary was acting in this spirit. It did not allow the proposals to be forgotten, and recommended through diplomatic channels to all participating states to reconsider them jointly, and realize them through bilateral cooperation. Our initiatives were met favourably although we cannot count on genuine progress in a short time because of political obstacles. However, cultural cooperation is of benefit not only for states but also for peoples, and such agreements may encourage European cooperation in general.

The deputy foreign minister appreciated the success of the Stockholm conference stressing that the agreement showed that even extremely complicated issues of security and disarmament can be discussed and settled under the CSCE process.

We expect the Helsinki conference to give a mandate to launch talks on efficient disarmament. We are of the view that after the Vienna follow-up conference the second phase of the Stockholm conference would be the most suitable forum for discussing disarmament of conventional forces.

The Ottawa meeting on human rights and the Bern meeting on human relations showed it is possible and necessary to exchange views on such issues. We hold it important that these consultations be held in objective and constructive atmosphere, free from confrontation to enable a better use of the possibilities they offer, Jozsef Benyi said.

ALIA, LEADERS ATTEND RALLY IN TIRANA 8 NOV

AU191221 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Nov 86 p 4-5

[ATA report: "Magnificent rally in Skenderbeg Square, Tirana -- Comrade Ramiz Alia and Other Leaders of the Party and the State Take Part", on 8 November]

[Text] On the occasion of the successful conclusion of the proceedings of the ninth party congress and the 45th anniversary of the foundation of the party, the party Central Committee and the Tirana district Party Committee organized yesterday a magnificent rally in Skenderbeg Square.

Nearly 150,000 people filled this lovely square, which has been completely transformed in this year of great events. Among those present were working people of centers of labor and production, cooperativists, veterans of war and labor, workers from the institutions of the capital, soldiers, students, young people, and Pioneers of Enver, down to kindergarten children. The square was decorated as on great festival days. On both sides of the dais and in front of it hundreds of Pioneers of Enver and young volunteers waved red hankerchiefs and the scarves of young people's mass actions.

At 1600 the square echoed with cheers and warm applause when on the dais erected in front of the Palace of Culture there emerged Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and president of the presidium of the People's Assembly; Comrade Adii Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrades Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Comrades Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members; and Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member and chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.

Also present were members of the AWP Central Committee and of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the government.

Also present were foreign delegations and friends who took part in the proceedings of the ninth party congress.

For several minutes people cheered "Party, Enver, we are always ready!" "Party of Labor!" and "Our mother the party -- your word is our deed!" There were cries of "Long live the party Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head!" "Glory to the life and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha," and "Glory to Marxism-Leninism," accompanied by vigorous "hurrahs."

The rally was opened by Comrade Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Candidate member and Tirana District Party Committee first secretary.

Amdist great popular enthusiasm, Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, took the rostrum.

His speech was frequently interrupted by vigorous applause and cheers for the party.

In the name of the Marxist-Leninist Communist parties in Europe, the rally was greeted by Klaus Rijs Klausen, leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark (Marxist-Leninist) and its first secretary; in the name of the Marxist-Leninist parties

of Latin America by Antonio Fernandez, leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of Peru (Marxist-Leninist) and its general secretary; in the name of the Marxist-Leninists, the working class, and freedom-loving peoples of North America by Hardial Bains, leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and its Committee first secretary; and in the name of the Marxist-Leninists of Africa, Asia, and Oceania by Harold Crook, leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of New Zealand and its secretary.

The greetings of the delegations of the sister parties were received with enthusiasm and cheers for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Comrade Ramiz Alia met and warmly greeted the leaders of the delegations of the sister parties.

Again the square echoed with the ovations of the people, who once again on this important festival day powerfully demonstrated their boundless love for, and steel unity with, the party and its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head, and their unshakable determination to bring to life the historic decisions of the ninth party congress, and to forge always ahead on the road of socialist construction according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Comrade Ramiz Alia greeted the people with his first raised high in salute. The square echoed with the song, "Enver Hoxha, long life to you."

Meanwhile the sky was illuminated with fireworks of many colors. The festival atmosphere on Skenderbeg square went on until late.

Carcani Addresses Rally

AU190928 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Nov 86 pp 4-5

["Magnificent Rally in Skanderbeg Square -- Comrade Ramiz Alia and Other Leaders of the Party and the State Take Part"]

[Text] Speech by Comrade Adil Carcani [subhead]

Comrades,
Working people of Tirana and all Albania,
Dear Friends,
Communists and all our people are today celebrating with great enthusiasm and particular joy the glorious jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the AWP and the successful conclusion of its historic ninth congress. On this occasion, allow me to convey to you the warmest greetings of the congress and the AWP Central Committee that it elected, and in their name to wish you from my heart a happy celebration of the great festival of the foundation of our party. Glory to the party and its founder Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Forty-five years ago, in those dire days, when our country and all Europe was covered in fascist darkness, Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head of the Albanian Communists achieved the colossal task which was to mark a radical turning point in the destinies of the people and of our country, and founded the glorious Albanian Communist Party, now the AWP.

The party, with Comrade enver Hoxha at its head, led the most glorious epic in the history of our people, the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, the great people's revolution, which overthrew the old power of the exploiting classes and installed the new power of the people. The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha led the historic struggle to set Albania on the road of socialism, and to realize great economic and social transformations.

With the party at its head, during 42 years of people's power, Albania overcame centuries of darkness and backwardness and achieved an unprecedented and incomparable blossoming. Within a relatively short time the country was transformed into a socialist country with a varied economy, with advanced industry and agriculture, with schools and a new socialist culture, with complete independence and a strong, unbreakable defense.

In the socialist society that we have created -- the most advanced form of society -- the working class and the other working masses have become all-powerful masters of the country. The life of our people today is happy and full of dignity. It is characterized by common interests and aims, by love and respect for each other; the unity in our society is monolithic.

We have created everything in our dear homeland through our own resources, with the effort and the sweat of the people's brow. We have never stretched out our hand to anybody for anything, and shall never do so, and we are not a penny in debt to anybody. Socialist Albania marches on its revolutionary road, as set down by our AWP, without flinching at any pressure, or bowing to any dictate.

The Albanian people owes all its historic victories achieved in these 42 years in every area of life to its glorious party, and to the founder the glorious leader of the party, of the people's revolution, and of socialist construction, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrades,
The ninth party congress, which was great aned wonderful, as are our party and the people who gave birth to it, crowned its proceedings with total success. It approved directives for the Eighth 5-Year Plan and elected the party Central Committee with complete unanimity, with Comrade Ramiz Alia, the close collaborator and worthy and loyal continuer of the revolutionary work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The ninth party congress will occupy a special place in the life of our party and people. It was the first congress which we carried out without the glorious founder and leader of the party and the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. But we had with us his theoretical, Marxist-Leninist thinking, and his immortal revoluitionary teachings, which guided all the proceedings of the congress and will always guide and inspire them in future battles of socialist construction. "His work, his thinking, and character," stressed Comrade Ramiz Alia at the ninth party congress, "accompany us in the daily struggle toward the future. They advise us, inspire us, and give us courage to forge ever ahead, to defend the cause of socialism in Albania, to preserve unthreatened the freedom and independence of the homeland, and to enrich and make ever happier the life of the people."

The congress magnificently demonstrated the basic characteristics which have always marked our party, the powerful unity of its ranks, its links of steel with the working people. This unity and these links have been and remain the key to all the victories we have achieved hitherto, a granite foundation for the strength and vitality of the party and our people in the future too.

The party and our people came to the ninth congress with a very rich balance of successes and victories in all fields. In the struggle with the difficulties of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, the influences of the world economic crisis, and the many difficulties caused by the weather -- the working masses, led by the party and relying entirely on our own forces, successfully fulfilled the basic tasks of the seventh 5-year period for the development of the economy and culture. This is a great victory of historic importance, a living expression of the correctness of the party line and the strength and vitality of true socialism.

In the struggle for the implementation of the tasks of the eighth party congress, in the harsh conflicts with external and internal enemies who are savage and dangerous for the destiny of the homeland and socialism -- such as the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu and his criminal band -- the party was forged and strengthened further; its leading role was increased in the entire life of the country; the people's power was further steeled and the defense of the homeland further reinforced. The party came to the congress full of vitality and dynamism, united as a single body around the Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head, with the steel unity of the people around it.

Working people throughout our country, with Communists at their head, incorporated in the powerful revolutionary movement of "Standard-Bearers in the Implementation of the Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" with energy, mobilization, and a militant spirit, have transformed into reality the duties and goals of this year, which is the first year of the eighth 5-year period. Plans are being fulfilled better than ever before in every sector of the economy and culture. At the congress, all the delegates who spoke informed the party and people with joy and optimism of magnificent successes, of many revolutionary iniatives, and of huge mass actions, one after another, for the discovery and exploitation of internal reserves and for increasing the efficiency of the economy and guaranteeing the future.

The report of Comrade Ramiz Alia and the decisions of the ninth party congress, which were approved with complete unanimity, constitute a major program of work in every field, and they present magnificent guidelines and duties for every sector. The congress strongly reaffirmed once again that the party, Communists, and all our people will implement unswervingly the Marxist-Leninist line of the party, devised by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and will always forge ahead only on the road of Enver, to faithfully carry forward his brilliant revolutionary work.

The congress laid down important guidelines and duties for the strengthening and constant forging of the party, the further increase of its leading role, the uninterrupted strengthening of the people's power, and the revolutionary education of the working people through the correct conduct of the class war, etc.

The plan directives of the eighth 5-year period, which the congress approved, open new prospects and horizons for further strengthening our economy and for its firmer stability, to guarantee the increased material and cultural well-being of our working masses and to make the defense of our socialist homeland even stronger.

The socioeconomic development of the nation will continue at a brisk pace in every sector. Socialist industrialization will be further intensified, by increasing the amount of domestic processing of our own natural resources. Agriculture will be developed in a harmonious fashion, on the road of intensification, and will use opportunities for extensive developments. The whole development and strengthening of the material-technical base will be carried out in close connection with the refinement of socialist production in the towns and in the countryside.

The ninth party congress defined for the future the duties of our party and state in the field of foreign policy. At its center has been, and will remain, the defense of the sovereignty and lofty interests of the homeland and of socialism in Albania, the determined internationalist support of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, an unflinching struggle against imperialism -- particulary against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism -- and the unflinching struggle against modern revisionism and all international reaction.

The foreign policy of the party and our socialist state will continue to be a policy of relations with all those countries that support the well-known principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs, respect for national sovereignty, and a policy of good-neighborliness with all the peoples of nearby countries.

In its struggle for the defense of the socialist victories of our country and of the cause of the revolution and Communism in the world, in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and world reaction, our party is not alone. With it are revolutionaries of all countries, Marxist-Leninist parties, freedom-loving peoples and progressive forces everywhere in the world. An expression of this militant solidarity is the participation of representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties and friends of socialist Albania in the ninth party congress and at this rally.

On this occasion, in the name of the party and our people, once again we thank them from our hearts for the internationalist support which they have always given the party and our country, and we assure them that, as always, they will have our party and people alongside them in their just struggle for national and social liberation.

Comrades,
Yesterday was 7 November, the 69th anniversary of the triumph of the Great October Revolution, which marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind.

Modern revisionists, with Soviet revisionists at their head, have abandoned the road of October, have torn down the glorious revolutionary achievement of Lenin and Stalin, but the AWP and its sister Marxist-Leninist parties, and true revolutionaries throughout the world, have taken up the great cause of the October Revolution, defended it, and carried it forward.

Dear comrades,
The ninth party congress made scientific analyses of the internal and external situation, and made deep generalizations concerning the rich experience of the party and the masses. May these, alongside the spirit of revolutionary optimism that marked all the congress proceedings, and the horizons and prospects it opened, become a major source of inspiration for Communists, cadres, and all the working people, to carry forward the magnificent task of the construction of socialism in Albania, toward new victories and fresh successes.

Armed with the correct line of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with unshakable faith in our own forces, with determination and a militant spirit to overcome every obstacle and difficulty, let us raise even higher our mobilization in labor, our revolutionary initiatives, and our spirit of mass actions, and throw ourselves into the attack to apply the decisions of the ninth party congress!

Long live the AWP, and its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head!

Long live our heroic people!

Eternal glory to the brilliant revolutionary achievement of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES CREDENTIALS OF AMBASSADORS

Cuban Ambassador

AU202109 Sofia BTA in English 1724 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA) -- Receiving the newly appointed ambassador of Cuba to this country, State Council President Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria commended highly bilateral relations. "The brotherly friendship and all-round cooperation between Bulgaria and Cuba, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are steadily promoted and expanded in the interests of the two peoples. The Programme for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation and for Socialist Integration in the Period Up to the Year 2000 has upgraded the promotion of bilateral relations to a new stage," Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized.

The Bulgarian head of state condemned resolutely the hostile actions of the U.S. against the revolutionary acquisitions of the Cuban people and expressed unqualified support and solidarity for their struggle.

The newly appointed Cuban ambassador, Mr Manuel Perez Hernandez, emphasized that relations between Bulgaria and Cuba are infused with proletarian will and internationalist spirit, that both countries are brought together by their common struggle against imperialism.

Afghan Ambassador

AU202129 Sofia BTA in English 1924 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA) -- "In the years after the April Revolution which opened a new chapter in the centuries-long history of Afghanistan, there were established cordial relations of sincere friendship and all-round cooperation between Bulgaria and Afghanistan, State Council President Todor Zhivkov said today. Receiving the credentials of the newly appointed ambassador of Afghanistan, Mr. Mehrabudin Paktiaval, [spelling as received] he stressed that now bilateral relations are characterized by complete unanimity on the principal issues of our time, by active trade and economic relations and by wide contacts at party, state and government level and between socio-political and other organizations.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov pointed out that the Bulgarian people are following the heroic struggle of the Afghani people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan against the undeclared war waged by imperialism and reaction with sincere admiration. "We are convinced that the revolutionary process in Afghanistan is irreversible. A guarantee for this is the policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan for widening the social basis of the revolution, for uniting all patriotic forces and for achieving national reconciliation as well as the unreserved support of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community and of all progressive forces in the world", he said.

The Bulgarian state leader gave a high assessment to the constructive foreign policy of Afghanistan and to the consistent efforts of this country for a speedier normalization of the situation by peaceful means. "A new eloquent expression of this policy is the withdrawal of a part of the limited Soviet contingent in Afghanistan", Mr. Todor Zhivkov stressed.

Mr. Mehrabudin Paktiaval dwelled on the struggle of the Afghan people for national independence and on the moral support rendered by Soviet Russia in the gaining of its independence from the British colonizers.

He stressed that the USSR has given more than 70 per cent of the resources for building the material and technical basis of Afghanistan.

The newly appointed ambassador said that immediately after the victory of the April Revolution reaction and imperialism started sending gands against Afghanistan. "But thanks to the great Soviet Union and to the socialist countries, including Bulgaria, which rendered us assistance in the course of these eight years, we succeeded in preserving the acquisitions of our revolution", he stressed.

Ethiopian Ambassador

AU202202 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA) -- "Bulgaria is following closely the revolutionary transformations in Socialist Ethiopia", State Council President Todor Zhivkov said here today. Receiving the newly appointed ambassador of Ethiopia to this country, Mr Hussein Ismail Hussein, Mr Zhivkov emphasized the radical socio-economic reforms which have been undertaken in Ethiopia with the purpose of laying the foundations of the construction of a socialist society and of achieving genuine freedom, justice and progress.

Mr Todor Zhivkov observed that Ethiopia can count on Bulgaria's continued support in her struggle for attaining the goals of the Ethiopian revolution. "The Bulgarian party and state leadership attaches great importance to the promotion of Bulgaro-Ethiopian relations.... That is why we are ready to use all available opportunities for the further expansion and diversification of bilateral relations," he said.

The Bulgarian head of state commended highly Ethiopia's constructive foreign policy, her contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, and he expressed satisfaction with the identity of Bulgaria's and Ethiopia's stands on the key issues of our time.

The newly appointed Ethiopian ambassador expressed hope that the sound and close ties between the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and the Bulgarian Communist Party will be further consolidated to the mutual benefit. He thanked Bulgaria for the assistance rendered to the Ethiopian people in their just struggle since the beginning of the revolution in that country.

Romanian Ambassador

AU202114 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA) -- Today, State Council President Todor Zhivkov, pointed out that Bulgaro-Romanian friendship has deep roots and that the victory of the socialist revolution in the two countries revealed new vistas before bilateral relations. Receiving the credentials of the newly appointed ambassador of Romania to this country, he said: "The principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism are a sound and reliable basis for the development of these relations in the political, economic and cultural field.... We are united by the ideals of socialism and communism and by our membership in the Organization of the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA and by our joint efforts to defend peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world".

The Bulgarian State Council president pointed out that the current international situation gives reason for serious alarm and that the course of confrontation and for achieving military superiority over the socialist countries, adopted by the U.S. and some NATO circles, poses a real threat to peace and security in the world.

The socialist countries oppose their active peace policy to the policy of confrontation. Their coordinated efforts and activities raise the struggle for nuclear disarmament, for peace and democracy to a new, higher level.... The joint efforts of Bulgaria and Romania for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, into a region of goodneighbourliness and peace are an integral part of the peaceful policy of the socialist community for saving mankind from nuclear annihilation.

Mr. Vasile Pungan, Romania's newly appointed ambassador, said that in the years of socialist construction the relations between the two countries based on the principles of respect for the national independence and freindly mutual assistance, have been raised to a new level. The constant growth of the potential of the national economies of Romania and Bulgaria, the geographic closeness and the experience which has been gained are favourable conditions for further promoting economic and techno-scientific contacts.

Mr. Vasile Pungan stressed the necessity for stopping the arms race and for eliminating the threat of a thermonuclear war. Romania is for the solving of all disputes among the countries by means of negotiations and for establishing a new international economic order.

ZHIVKOV AWARDS SEW LEADER HORST SCHMIDT

AU201440 Sofia BTA in English 1243 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA) -- Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, had a meeting with MR. Horst Schmidt, chairman of the SEW, who is visiting this country at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

During the talk, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, the two sides exchanged information on the activity of the two parties and discussed topical issues of the situation in the world and of the international worker's movement.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Horst Schmidt assessed highly the relations between the BCP and the SEW, and confirmed their readiness to continue to develop and deepen their cooperation in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The two sides ascertained completely identity of their views on all discussed questions.

After the meeting Mr Zhivkov handed Mr Schmidt the Order of the People's Republic of Bulgaria First Class.

He was awarded for his outstanding contribution to the development of the fraternal relations between the BCP and the SEW and between the people of Bulgaria and West Berlin, as well to the strengthening of the international communist and working class movement.

In their speeches Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Horst Schmidt emphasized the fact that the preservation of peace is the most important task today.

Both parties share the view that the unity of action of all progressive, democratic and peaceloving forces and of all people regardless of their class national, ideological and religious differences, is vital for the salvation of mankind from a nuclear holocaust. This conclusion is more than ever valid after the Reykjavik summit, said the secretary general of the CC of the BCP.

Mr Horst Schmidt assured his host that the SEW will continue to work for the fulfillment of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals on the halting of the arms race, made in Reykjavik.

ATANASAOV, ILIEV RECEIVE PRC, USSR OFFICIALS

AU202040 Sofia BTA in English 2001 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA) -- Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr Li Tieying, minister of electronic industry of the People's Republic of China, who is visiting here at the head of a Chinese delegation. They considered the opportunities for bilateral cooperation in mutually advantageous fields.

Sofia, November 20 (BTA) -- Mr Ivan Iliev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, today received Mr Viktor Biryukov, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Soviet Union. They discussed questions concerning the transport interaction between the two countries. Special attention was given to the establishment of direct links and to the expansion of ferry services.

ALGERIAN MOJAHEDDIN DELEGATION VISIT REPORTED

AU181928 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 18 Nov 86

["Bulgaro-Algerian Dialogue for the Sake of Peace" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA) -- A delegation of the National Mojaheddin Organisation in Algeria, headed by its secretary general Mr Yussef Yalaoui, [spelling as received] visited here from November 12 through 18 at the invitation of the Central Committee of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism. The delegation was received by Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

Mr Yussef Yalaoui expressed his people's profound gratitude for the moral and material support, rendered by the Bulgarian people to the Algerians' national liberation struggle. The sides declared themselves for an end to the arms race, against outer space militarization and for a negotiated settlement of disputes. They agreed to enhance their contacts and cooperation in support of all initiatives seeking a consolidation of world peace, the prevention of the resurgence of fascism and opposing neo-nazism, colonialism, racism and apartaheid.

BALEV-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM LATIN AMERICA

AU171858 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Nov 86 p 2

[Text] Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, returned to Bulgaria yesterday at the head of a BCP delegation. The delegation attended the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina, and paid brief visits to Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Spain. The delegation was welcomed at Sofia airport by Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and by other officials. The ambassadors and representatives of the embassies from the countries which the BCP delegation visited on its trip were also among those present at the airport.

CPCZ LEADERSHIP ATTENDS GOTTWALD CEREMONY

LD202224 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Excerpt] A festive rally in honor of the 90th anniversary of the birth of Klement Gottwald took place this evening in the National Theater in Prague. Participants recalled the immediacy of the legacy of the life and work of this exceptional representative of the CPCZ and the international communist movement for the present day, in which the workers under the leadership of the party strive for the fulfillment of the strategic line of accelerating the economic and social development of our society.

Present at the rally were Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic; Lubomir Strougal, premier of the Federal Government; other members of the Presidium of the party Central Committee, Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak and Jozef Lenart; candidate members of the Central Committee Presidium, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Ignac Janak, and Frantisek Pitra; secretaries of the party Central Committee, Mikulas Beno, Josef Havlin, and Jindrich Polednik; members of the Central Committee Secretariat, Zdenek Horeni and Marie Kabrhelova; Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission; and other figures of political, public and cultural life. [passage omitted]

Husak Addresses Rally

LD202322 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1755 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Speech by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, at a rally commemorating the 90th anniversary of the birth of Klement Gottwald in Prague's National Theater -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, dear friends. The Czechoslovak people, our party, our friends abroad, and we here at the gala meeting recall with respect the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Klement Gottwald, great revolutionary leader, prominent statesman of socialist Czechoslovakia, outstanding representative of our and the international communist and workers movement. His work is linked with the 25 years of the biggest revolutionary changes of modern history, the struggle for the rights of the working people against capitalist exploitation, the restoration of national freedom and state independence, the culmination of the fight for overthrowing capitalism and for introducing people's power and beginning socialist construction.

The richness of experience and ideas contained in his work speaks urgently and vitally to us today. At a time when we are tackling tasks for accelerating the advancement of socialist society, it is for us a source of strength, a lesson, an inspiration, and a resource of determination.

Marxism-Leninism rightly considers the popular masses and their activity as the main force the creator of history, the key factor in social progress. But it also highly regards the historical role of the personality of revolutionary leaders who are able to understand correctly the demands of their times, express the desires and interests of the people, and lead the struggle for freedom and social justice.

We can say with pleasure that our Communist Party in its 65-year history brought up a number of outstanding representatives who devoted their whole lives, their energy, their outstanding abilities, their enthusiasm and zest to the noble cause of socialism and communism. Comrade Klement Gottwald takes first place among them. His life and work is inseparably linked with the historical rise of the working class to the leadership of our nations, with the historical role of the Communist Party that following the example of the Great October, united the forces of the people, and led them to victory in the fight for a new social order.

Gottwald's work is firmly linked with the struggle of the pioneers of socialism, of the founders and the builders of our party, all who took part in the fight for the rights and interests of the working people and for national liberation, and who laid the basis of socialism in our country.

By our entire work we continue and must continue with their work, zeal, and sacrifices.

Comrades, the milestones on the path of life of Klement Gottwald are the same as on the complicated but victorious path that the Communist Party passed along during the years. It had to fight against bourgeois persecution and Nazi terror. It came to know the happiness of victory and bitterness of defeat. It was able to learn from successes and mistakes and to overcome them. In the struggle against opportunism, dogmatism, and sectarianism it strengthened its revolutionary character. On the march it made the ideals of Marxism-Leninism its own, and the ability to implement them creatively under Czechoslovak conditions, to gain the trust and support of the masses, to understand the new demands of the day, and it fought toward progress.

Gottwald's taking over the leadership of the party at the historic fifth congress in 1929 was linked with a fundamental change toward the development of the revolutionary struggle against capital. In the great class struggle for the defense of workers, poor farmers, village poor, the young, and the intelligentsia, who were seriously affected by the consequences of the economic crisis in those years, the new leadership headed by Klement Gottwald was becoming familiar with the art of organization and leadership through worker demonstrations. The battle for the Leninist character of the party was consistently linked to the strengthening of its close cohesion with the people. Our party has always seen in this, and it does so today, the source of its strength, the guarantee of victory.

A new state in the activity of the party began after the rise of Hitlerite Nazism (?to power) in neighboring Germany. Communists farsightedly and quickly warned of the danger that threatened liberty and the very existence of our nations. They understood the new situation correctly and drew the basic conclusions for their policy from it. It is one of the historic contributions made by Klement Gottwald that the CPCZ consistently and creatively fought for the policy of a united people's front, that it strove for the unification of all antifascist democratic forces in the struggle for the defense of the republic and democracy. They did not succeed in averting the Munich tragedy, the breaking up of the Republic and the rule of Nazi dictatorship because of the capitulation of the bourgeoisie. The antifascist struggle was of enormous importance, however, for further development, for the struggle for the renewal of national liberty and state independence, and for the formation of the National Front, which played such an important role in later years and to this day has a lasting place in our society.

The tragic period of fascist oppression and occupation became the most difficult test of our people, political parties, and their representatives. Communists were first in the ranks of the national liberation struggle. They did not hesitate to make the greatest sacrifices for it. Klement Gottwald, as the head of the Moscow leadership of the party gave great effort to the mobilization of the Czech and Slovak people in the fight against Nazism and to the unification of the forces of the resistance movement in the sorely tried homeland and abroad.

At the turning point of World War II, which took place above all thanks to the historic victory of the Soviet Army, paid for by the vast sacrifice of the Soviet people, and as liberation neared, the leadership of the party gave continually greater attention to how the conditions in the renewed state would be organized. It deduced a program goal from the experiences of the people and from changes in relations between class forces in the world as a result of the antifascist struggle of nations: to renew the Republic on new political foundations that were socially and nationally just and to ensure its security in foreign policy by means of a firm alliance with the Soviet Union.

This conception, which was an exceptional expression of the creative thinking and maturity of the Communist Party, thanks to the party and the significant contribution from Klement Gottwald, became the platform of the National Front, the first Czechoslovak Government on the liberated territory, and the program of the national and democratic revolution. We think of these things in the light of history as more or less a matter of course, but when we see how developments progressed in countries around us at that time we understand the farsightedness of Gottwald and his leadership during those years.

As a result of the historic victories of the Soviet Army, which liberated our homeland from the Nazi yoke, the Czechoslovak people were able to freely determine their lives and their future. This was not the case in the whole of Europe. [Word indistinct] postwar years filled with sharp revolutionary change, the pillars of bourgeois power were crumbling and the regime of people's democracy was being born and developed. The ranks of the party, which became the leading force of society, were strengthened by hundreds of thousands of honest patriots. Millions of our citizens took an active part in implementing their ideas. Klement Gottwald emphasized the need for the strengthening of the National Front, and for the wide union of workers of towns and villages, Czechs and Slovaks, in the struggle for the fulfillment of the Kosice Government program. The workers were convinced by their own experience during the great political struggles of the need to continue on the path we set out on after liberation.

Thanks to this, during the dramatic days of February 1948, at a decisive time in the struggle with reaction, the vast majority of Czechs and Slovaks stood up in defense of the gains of socialism. During these fateful days Klement Gottwald proved himself to be a principled politician, a bold revolutionary, and a wise statesman. The February victory was the emergence of the logic of internal development of our society, of our peoples, the culmination of many years of struggle to solve the fundamental class and national questions of our people. With historic hindsight it is becoming increasingly clear how correctly our party was able to implement Leninist ideas on the relations between national and democratic revolution and the struggle for socialism, under specific Czechoslovak conditions. The linking of national and democratic tasks with socialist perspective gave the Czechoslovak revolution exceptional dynamism and depth. At the same time this provided the possibility for the rise to power of the people by peaceful means with the agreement and support of the widest strata of the people. Thanks to the correct policy of the Communist Party, this possibility became reality.

Thanks to this, its historical, political, and moral justification to be the leading force in our society was further strengthened. Klement Gottwald made exceptional contributions to all of this. As a convinced internationalist, he also understood the deep unity of national and international interests of the people, the link between our revolution and the great revolutionary changes in Europe. At the same time he considered the strengthening of friendship, cooperation, and alliance with the Soviet Union to be decisive. [applause]

He saw in it the guarantee of state sovereignty, independence, socialist development, and peace for our people. The historical tests of the past 4 decades, filled with many stirring events, confirmed fully that it is an orientation fully in harmony with the vital interests and historical experience of our people. Our people know well that they can always and in everything depend on the Soviet friends. [applause]

Comrade: After the victorious February the main thing was how to start socialist construction, what speed and forms to choose in Czechoslovak conditions.

Klement Gottwald had the answer for formulating the general line for building the socialist foundation in our homeland. The well-known ten points that he delivered at the Ninth CPCZ Congress in 1949 entered history as a project of socialist reconstruction of our society. In its implementation it was necessary to work in quite different conditions, to learn to rule and live in the process -- and we know how difficult it can be for us at times even today -- and to face inertia and the resistance of the defeated exploiting classes as well as the pressure of foreign enemies.

In tackling tasks of unprecedented content and scale, the working people showed great enthusiasm and selflessness. Great historical deeds were carried out and important goals were attained.

However it ought not to be forgotten that mistakes have been made and the Leninist norms in the work of the party and the laws of the socialist state have been violated. The activity of Klement Gottwald toward the end of his life was not free of this, and it must be mentioned in order not to distort history.

In the following years a complicated struggle continued for the development of socialist society, for its economic, social, and spiritual rise. Communists, wide masses of the working people, worked hard to solve accumulated problems and to cope with new tasks. In these years, too, considerable results were achieved in the building work of the peoples. However, the displays of subjectivism, simplified ideas, attempts to run ahead of development, to avoid the inevitability of coming to terms with the consequences of the personality cult prevented the achievement of more significant progress and demeaned the revolutionary bequest of the party. This was one of the causes of the deep crisis in the second half of the sixties. The topic of the attacks and slanders of the right-wing and antisocialist forces became the revolutionary achievements of socialism, the historical role of the party, and the work of Klement Gottwald. In the principled political struggle to overcome the crisis, our party was able to restore the Marxist-Leninist priniciples, to get rid of shortcomings and deformations, and to push society back to the path of sociality development.

The Central Committee has also paid much attention to ensuring that slander has been erased from the history of the party, so that a correct evaluation of its history can be made, including an appreciation of the role and merit of Klement Gottwald.

Comrades, since the 14th CPCZ Congress we have consolidated and built on all the positive results achieved during the preceding years of socialist construction. We have raised our socialist society to a new level. Despite all the difficulties we have ensured the stable, or more or less stable, development of the economy, and an ongoing rise in living standards. We have further improved our political system, which guarantees the rights of the working people and their widespread involvement in running our affairs. We have strengthened Czechoslovakia's international status, and its political and economic ties with the states of the socialist community. All this provides us with a firm basis for our further progress, despite the problems and shortcomings that we know still await us. We can look to the future with confidence and optimims.

At the same time, however, we realize that we cannot judge today's results through, so to speak, yesterday's eyes. We must judge them according to tomorrow's needs, and the needs of the future. Above all we must measure them against the rapid pace of development of science and technology throughout the world and all the ramifications of that development. For various reasons we still have not managed to combine the results of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism as effectively as necessary. That is why we have an increasingly important need today to make marked and substantially faster progress in this crucial sphere, and to do so urgently and (?in accordance with) the needs of the development of our country and of the whole socialist camp, and to do so in competition with capitalism.

These are the findings, common analyses, and conclusions of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries on which we also based the formulation of the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress. The basis of this program consists in speeding up, on the basis of scientific and technological progress, the social and economic development of society by using as fully as possible the resources, capacity, and experience we have accumulated. Our efforts to accelerate social and economic development must be combined with the gradual restructuring of the economic mechanism that was defined by the 17th congress and that is now being worked out. In this context we will base ourselves on the firm foundations of the socialist principles of management. The party and state leadership is considering ways of improving central management of decisive issues while at the same time substantially widening the authority and responsibility of enterprises and basing their activity on financial autonomy and self-financing principles, markedly reducing administrative interference, and developing the role of economic levers. These are complicated issues, but they are being discussed. An inseparable part of these issues is the broadly based application and extension of democratic forms of people's participation in management at all levels. Ongoing improvement of the whole political and social system is the way to stimulate initiative, overcome indifference and passivity, and strengthen the people's realization that they are responsible for the stewardship of their enterprises, their communities, and their country. [applause]

In conjunction with giving greater prominence to moral factors, we must apply more consistently the principles of remuneration according to results; we must build the right moral atmosphere, as Comrade Gorbachev constantly reminds us, and introduce these economic principles into the life and work of the people. Great attention must be paid to ensuring that the same law, the same discipline, the same rights, and the same responsibilities apply to everyone. We must be more vigorous in combating all negative phenomena and distortions of socialist principles, of which there are many.

The objectives we have set for ourselves place substantially higher demands on the leading role and overall activity of the CPCZ, on its political, organizational, and ideological work. We can state with satisfaction that the program of the 17th congress has received a warm response and wide support from the whole of the National Front and all the working people. Even our early experience to date indicates, however, that the implementation of this program will be no easy matter. We now have several months of experience, and this has shown that it is not merely a question of the novelty and complexity of the tasks -- to master which we will have to seek new methods, try out new approaches, and experiment -- but of the need to overcome the ingrained force of inertia, deep-rooted attitudes and routines, complacency, outdated ideas and methods. That is why it is so important for the party and its members to head the struggle for new ways of thinking, to set stricter criteria and higher standards at every workplace, to introduce a more critical approach and a new mentality. This is the prerequisite for doing away with everything that is outdated and hinders further progress. The order of the day is to accelerate the pace at which tasks set out by the 17th congress are tackled, to be bolder and more dynamic in all spheres. Some of these issues will also be dealt with by the party Central Committee in December.

An inspiration for our efforts in this respect is the innovative thinking and actions of Soviet Communists. Our party warmly welcomed the creative spirit and the theoretical and practical conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which we see as an immense boost not only for the Soviet Union but also for the whole Communist movement, especially for the socialist countries, and for the increased authority and attraction of socialism throughout the world.

It is with lively interest and inclination that we follow the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of the life and work of the Soviet people. [applause]

During the recent meeting with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, we were able to say with deep satisfaction that full unity of views of our fraternal parties was further strengthened on all questions on the basis of the conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress. [applause]

Our cooperation, exchange of experience, and joint action in all areas is being raised to an even higher level. The joint effort of fraternal countries for the acceleration of socioeconomic development has as a prerequisite the fundamentally more effective use of the great possibilities for mutual cooperation. This was the topic of the recent talks in Moscow. In this context the measures for the deepening of socialist economic integration assume considerable immediacy. The use of new, progressive forms in mutual economic relations, the realization of the complex program of scientific and technical progress that we adopted at the end of last year, and the overall perfecting of the activity of CEMA, these are the ways to contribute to the development of all fraternal countries on the basis of coordinated effort, for the rise in the standard of living of their people and the fuller implementation of the creative potential of socialism. This was the theme about which we talked for 2 days in Moscow. These were, I'm jumping ahead here, these were the questions considered at the recent working meeting of the leading representatives of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, CEMA member-states in Moscow.

Czechoslovakia fully supports its results. On Wednesday we discussed this in the CPCZ Presidium, which sees it as an important contribution for the development of our country and the whole socialist community. We will be active and show initiative in taking part in their realization. [applause]

The Moscow meeting also emphasized that the efforts for the acceleration of the development of socialist building forms an indivisible unity with the resourceful action of the Soviet Union and the whole of our community on the international field. Internal development and peace in the world are linked. On behalf of the people of Czechoslovakia I would like to express great appreciation for the creative, flexible, and dynamic approach of Soviet foreign policy in the fight for averting the threat of nuclear war, for nuclear and conventional disarmament, and for the development of constructive international cooperation. [applause]

Thanks to the innovative approach by Comrade Gorbachev during the summit meeting in Iceland and thanks to the far-reaching Soviet proposals that he put forward, a qualitatively new situation in the struggle for nuclear disarmament has been created. Today the peoples see much more clearly who bears the responsibility for the tension in the world, for the threat to the very existence of humanity, and they see what must be done to combat it. They are continually more aware of the aim of the dangerous project of militarization of space, for which the United States in the end thwarted the possibility of reaching a historic agreement in Reykjavik. It is an expression of its effort to secure strategic supremacy for itself and to make use of this in implementing its own imperialist intentions. Socialist countries will not and cannot allow this. They are increasing their efforts even more to ensure that the historic chance that was created at Reykjavik is made use of so that nuclear arms are liquidated within the lifetime of the present generation. [applause]

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will take an active part in the coordinated policy of the socialist countries in the international field and will take further initiative toward achieving the common goals. I believe that despite all obstacles and difficulties in international relations new ideas will gradually find place. We believe firmly that the cause of peace will win in the end. [applause]

Comrades: The results of our revolutionary path give us the right to say that the party is honorably fulfilling its historic role, its responsibility toward our nations and our peoples. [applause] It successfully advances the revolutionary bequest of the previous generations, the work of Klement Gottwald. We have accumulated great experience, and we have learned to understand more deeply the sources of our achievements, the complexity and the contradictions of the socialist construction. We also see more clearly the causes of difficulties, but also the paths toward their solution and the prospects of further development. Loyalty to the great ideals of Communism, Marxism-Leninism, proletarian and socialist internationalism, and to the interests of our peoples and nations, sets for us the task to do our utmost to raise the work of socialism to the standard of new, current, and future demands. [applause] In this we find the revolutionary task of our times.

We have a clear, demanding, but realistically attractive program of further progress, despite all complaints that we hear at the implementation. We have the necessary resources, forces, and prerequisites for its realization. We are determined to work for a happy future and peaceful life of our homeland with the same firmness and energy with which Klement Gottwald, our party, and our working people fought for the overthrowing of capitalism and the victory of socialism. [applause]

In this spirit of the revolutionary continuity of our struggle we today pay our tribute to the revolutionary work and the memory of Klement Gottwald. [applause] Long live the CSSR and our working people! [applause] Long live our firm friendship and alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal countries! [applause] Long live the leading political force of our society -- the CPCZ! [applause]

AXEN ADDRESSES SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE OPENING

LD201121 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1109 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov (ADN) -- The third session of the SED Central Committee opened in Berlin today.

The report of the Politburo was delivered by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

SCIENTIFIC-ECONOMIC PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH LIBYA

LD201427 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1139 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov (ADN) -- The seventh session of the GDR-Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah [SPLAJ] joint commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation was concluded in Berlin today with the signing of protocol. In it the two sides lay down the next steps of work for the development of economic relations.

The intensification of the exchange of goods will cover projects in electrical engineering/electronics and other branches of industry, in agriculture and in the transportation sector.

The document was signed by Werner Buschmann, minister of light industry of the GDR, and Ibrahim Muhammad al-Bishari, secretary for economy and trade of the General People's Committee of the SPLAJ. On the occasion of the signing, the Libyan guests stressed the interest in the deliveries from the GDR, which contribute to the development of his country's national economy.

UN DELEGATE SPONSORS CW BAN RESOLUTION

LD102314 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1919 GMT 10 Nov 86

[Text] UN/New York, 10 Nov (ADN) -- UN members on Monday called for the banning of chemical and bacteriological weapons. A corresponding draft resolution by the GDR was adopted by the main committee of the UN General Assembly against the votes of the United States, the FRG, and nine other NATO states. Eighty-four nonaligned and socialist states spoke out in favor of the initiative. Thirty-one states abstained. The resolution underlined the urgent need for a ban on chemical weapons as a major disarmament measure and proposed the conclusion of a convention on a ban on the development, production and storing of such weapons as well as their destruction. The Geneva disarmament conference is called upon to intensify its negotiations to enable it to propose a corresponding convention at the next session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Such a convention, states the resolution, would substantially contribute to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Reference is also made to proposals and initiatives for the creation of chemical weapon free zones in various regions of the world, which contribute to a total ban on chemical weapons and stable regional and international security. Eleven socialist and nonaligned states supported the resolution as co-authors.

KRENZ CONFERS WITH SWISS ARMY COMMANDER

LD201554 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0959 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov (ADN) -- Safeguarding a lasting peace is the fundamental task of the present time. This view was stated in Berlin today by member of the SED Politburo Egon Krenz, deputy GDR State Council chairman, and Corps Commander Roger Mabillard, chief instructor of the Swiss Army. Both sides expressed their concern about the tense international situation. The talk took place in the GDR State Council offices. Egon Krenz spoke on the course of the socialist German state directed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace. Its aim is that war should never again begin from German soil. That is why the GDR is adhering to its policy of result-oriented dialogue and constructive cooperation with all states and peoples.

The closing document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures, the Soviet Union's test ban moratorium and its extension several times, as well as Mikhail Gorbachev's far-reaching initiatives show that a real opportinity exists today to free mankind from the nuclear threat.

HONECKER CONGRATULATES MOZAMBIQUE'S CHISSANO

AU052201 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Nov 86 p 1

[Greetings message by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to Joaquim Alberto Chissano, president of the Mozambique Liberation Front and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique -- date not given]

[Text] President of the Mozambique Liberation Front

[Frelimo] President of the People's Republic of Mozambique Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano

Dear Comrade Chissano!

On the occasion of your election as president of Frelimo and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, I convey to you cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR. In you, a fighter tested in the struggle for national independence and in strengthening the People's Republic of Mozambique, was appointed at the head of Frelimo and the Mozambique state.

I am convinced that Frelimo and the Mozambique people will successfully continue the path of building a society worthy of man and free of exploitation under your leadership, will defend the independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Mozambique against all attacks by imperialism, and will make their contribution to the joint struggle for peace, security, and a happy coexistence of the peoples.

Be assured that the SED and the GDR, on the basis of the treaty on friendship and cooperation, will continue and depend the fraternal and trustful relations with Frelimo and the Poeple's Republic of Mozambique. I wish you much success and creative vigor and well-being for your responsible work at the head of Frelimo and the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Erich Honecker

SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

LD201839 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1736 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] A communique has been issued on the MSZMP Central Committee session held yesterday and today. In addition to the members of the Central Committee, also taking part in the session were the chairman and secretary of the Central Control Committee, Central Committee department heads, county and county-ranking party committee first secretaries, secretaries of the Budapest party committee, secretaries of the National Council of Trade Unions, members of the Council of Ministers, leaders of the highest national authorities, as well as leaders of the central press.

The Central Committee listened to and approved the briefing by Janos Kadar, party general secretary, about the working meeting of party leaders of the CEMA member states on November 10-11 in Moscow, as well as about his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The participants in the working meeting exchanged views on topical issues of the international situation. They stressed that joint efforts must be increased in the interest of the struggle for the elimination of nuclear weapons, the reduction of conventional weapons, and for the consolidation of peace and international solidarity.

The Central Committee welcomed with satisfaction the fact that the participants unanimously supported the Soviet stance represented in Reykjavik by Mikhail Gorbachev. It expressed hope that with the joint effort of the socialist countries, with the united struggle of all peace-loving forces, with the responsible stance of the representatives of all the interested states, it will be possible to achieve progress in halting the arms race and in solving disarmament problems. It stressed that Hungarian foreign policy, according to its possibilities, will continue in the future to contribute actively to the realization of the common peace efforts.

The leaders of the sister parties debated the basic topical issues of the developmen and perfecting of cooperation between the socialist countries, with special regard to economic cooperation, to the work that is done in CEMA. The Central Committee supports the raising of the mutually advantageous cooperation of our countries to a higher level. It approves the modernization of the mechanism of cooperation now being realized within CEMA and the encouragement of joint activity. The Central Committee assesses that the consultation gives new encouragement to the acceleration of the participating countries' socioeconomic development and technical-scientific progress, to the consolidation of the positions they hold in the international division of labor.

The Central Committee highly appreciates the bilateral, cordial, and friendly discussion between Janos Kadar and Mikhail Gorbachev as evidence of mutual understanding and agreement that opens up new possibilities for the further development of the all-round Hungarian-Soviet relations.

The Central Committee intensively discussed and unanimously approved the report submitted by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, on the tasks of improving economic work, the submitted draft resolution, as well as the guidelines of the 1987 national economy plan and state budget. The Central Committee will make public its resolution on the tasks of improving economic work as well as on the guidelines of the 1987 national economy plan and state budget.

LABOR OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON RELOCATIONS

AU200932 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview given by Dr Jozsef Rozsa, head of main department at the State Office for Wages and Labor (SOWL), to Ilona Kocsi: "100,000 People -- Domestic Labor Market Gets Moving -- Interview With Head of Main Department at ABMH (SOWL)" -- place and date not given.

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Kocsi] The recent labor management conference was followed with a surprising amount of attention. Almost 1,200 people attended the conference, and they frequently expressed their criticism and disapproval of changes....

[Rozsa] Indeed, people were very interested, but this interest was mainly due to income regulations. Of course, attention was also paid to other section meetings. Since the amendments had not then been published, many people wanted to get information this way. Perhaps this interest was also due to the fact that some of the central decisions are contrary to the spirit of the latest party congress. As an example, people usually mention the job-seeking benefit, because they say that unemployment might even reach our country. This contradiction has been resolved, because the congress also described the requirements for increasing productivity, which could result in the relocation of a few thousand, perhaps 10,000 people, who will be directed to more profitable areas.

[Kocsi] According to the news, during the seventh 5-year period 100,000 people will be regrouped to new areas. Would this not be close to the expression of "masses"?

[Rozsa] Regrouping does not necessarily refer to a new field, but rather to a more profitable and more modern activity. For instance, in Ozd 2,500 people will be relocated, and only 500 will be going to areas outside metallurgy. The figure 100,000 only appears startling at first hearing, perhaps because it will involve an organized action. In the past several thousands of people were relocated annually by enterprises, but no particular attention was paid to it. [passage omitted]

[Kocsi] Still, how did you calculate this regrouping figure of 100,000? If you only added up the figures due to central decisions, this figure could still grow if the enterprises' own decision involves extra people....

[Rozsa] It is unlikely, but this figure should not be taken for gospel either. We calculated this figure on the basis of current economic trends, as well as of areas working with constant deficits and those with low profitability.

[Kocsi] To make the picture more confusing and to show how complicated it is to create a harmonious labor management, we have to mention that the danger of unemployment was also discussed at the conference in a different aspect. An analyst called attention to the fact that, owing to a demographic wave, far more young people will enter the labor market at the end of the eighties than in the past. What will happen to them if temporary unemployment occurs in the Hungarian economy on grounds other than demography?

[Rosza] We are only expecting new masses of job-seekers by 1989-90. However, we believe that these masses will have no problem finding employment, because there are many skills in demand that would absorb all the excess labor forces. True, in order to arrive at this situation, we expect the economy to move out of its present slump and show a dynamic development. We do not want to talk of the devil, but we are also preparing ourselves for the opposite situation. If this were the case, we would have to modify the job-seeking benefit, introduce new welfare measures, and review the employment of foreigners. At present 8,000-10,000 non-Hungarian citizens are working in the country. Of course, we could also examine the possibility of employment abroad. At the same time, the employment of people over 70-80 would go down as well. [passage omitted]

[Kocsi] If there are more people seeking jobs than places available, there will be a stratum of people unable to find employment. It could become necessary for the managing bodies to organize compulsory labor; and one can already hear about such experiments.

[Rosza] The increasing strength of employers would result in their refusing some people. Therefore, there is a realistic danger of so-called lumpen-elements, who often change their jobs or are so undisciplined that they can find no employment. But they must live on something. If they do not earn enough to live on, we will have a stalemate. It is in the interest of society to stop the ripple-effect of this process. This would affect 2,000-3,000 people in each big city...[passage omitted]

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH SRV 20 NOV

LD210028 Budapest MTI in English 2204 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Budapest, November 20 (MTI) -- On Thursday Deputy Foreign Trade Ministers Otto Herkner of Hungary and Nguyen Tu of Vietnam signed a bilateral goods exchange and payments protocol for 1987 which envisages a trade turnover of 60 million roubles. Half of Hungarian import will be textiles, clothes and rubber products made on commission, and other purchase include crude rubber, coffee, spices, handicrafts, tropical produce, and minerals. Vietnam will mainly buy machinery and equipment, fabrics, medicine, metallurgical and chemical products and consumer articles. The parties exchanged views on the further expansion of bilateral trade.

Nguyen Tu met Istvan Torok, state secretary of foreign trade, and Gyorgy Doro, deputy president of the National Planning Office and Deputy Chairman of the Hungarian section of the Hungarian-Vietnamese joint committee for economic, technical and scientific cooperation.

MONGOLIAN PARTY DELEGATION DEPARTS AFTER VISIT

LD201758 Budapest MTI in English 1235 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Budapest, November 20 (MTI) -- A delegation of the Central Control Commission of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), headed by Sededyn Davahu, member of the Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Control Commission, has paid a visit to Hungary at the invitation of the HSWP Central Control Commission.

The delegation held talks with Imre Somogyi, secretary of the HSWP Central Control Commission. The sides informed one another on the work of their parties, surveyed experiences in party control, and relations between the Central Control Commissions.

The Mongolian party delegation studied the work of county and district party committees, and saw some industrial and agricultural units.

The delegation met Andras Gyenes, president of the HSWP Central Control Commission.

The Mongolian delegation left Hungary on Thursday.

BERECZ MEETS JOURNALISTS CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

AU200907 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Nov 86 p 5

[Text] An international conference took place in Tihany from 10 to 13 November with the participation of the delegations of journalists' associations of 11 European, Asian, and Latin American countries and the heads of the International Organization of Journalists. The participants took a stand for the commitment of the progressive journalists in the struggle to free our planet of nuclear weapons and to achieve peace, detente, and social progress. They expressed their intention to support the decisions formulated at the Tenth Congress of the International Organization of Journalists within their own organizations with all their power.

Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, received the heads of the foreign delegations at the MSZMP Central Committee Headquarters. Also present at the meeting were Gyula Bereczky, deputy head of a department of the Central Committee; Jozsef Palfi, chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Journalists; Karoly Megyeri, general secretary; and Peter Vajda, international secretary of the federation, all representing the federation.

Dr Rezso Banyasz, state secretary and chairman of the Information Office of the Council of Ministers, gave a reception in honor of the participants in the conference at the House of the Hungarian Press. Present at the reception were Erno Lakatos, head of a department of the Central Committee; Gabor Borbely, chief editor of NEPSZABADSAG; and many other leading staff members of the Hungarian press. Also participating in the reception were several leading members of the diplomatic missions accredited in Budapest.

BERECZ WARNS REFORMERS, DEFENDS MSZMP POLICIES, LEADING ROLE

WA211000 Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 11, Nov 1986 pp 43-52

[Article by Janos Berecz, MSZMP Central Committee secretary: "About the Party and Reform--With Sensitivity Toward Two Fronts"; under the rubric: "Three Decades of Experience Concerning MSZMP Policies"]

[Excerpts] There are no final answers, nor are there fully answered, closed questions in this day and age. Just as in the past, the truth of the basic tenets of socialist society continues to gain strength. This truth is being placed into a modern context through debates and through the conscious resolution of contradictions produced by real-life situations. For quite some time now--for decades, I should say--the Hungarian political system and its functioning has provided a natural environment for socialist construction. Today, nevertheless, our political system and the leadership role of the party have become the subjects of debate and of expressed views. The clash of these opinions and views, however, is not new. The party and the state have been the No 1 targets of attack by class enemies. And yet, today's evolving debate must be approached differently because lessons learned from events 30 years ago have left their mark on everyone. As Communists, we too have learned our lessons. And so have our

allies. And the representatives of opposing ideologies have learned from the consequences. But one cannot simply disregard the emerging issues: Today's problems must be addressed with contemporary answers.

In spite of unquestionably high levels of achievement, today we are being burdened with concerns and preoccupied with a series of tasks. Expectation characterizes our society today. Today it is expectation that preoccupies public opinion, and generally speaking everyone is interested in the future building of socialism in Hungary. As the leading force of society, the MSZMP must respond to questions that flow out of a responsible concern for socialism and for the future of our nation. At the same time the MSZMP must convincingly reject ulterior motives and must expose hostile attempts.

In principle the MSZMP's position is unequivocal. The political institutions and the related institutional system of our society must be developed. It must be enriched and modernized. The party cannot be left out of this process. Activities internal to the party must also come into motion. They must move in a direction that assures the party's future leadership position in social processes. We will not permit anyone to question the leadership role of the party--no one can relegate the party to a parenthetical role. In this respect our position is clear and unequivocal. Because he who questions our leadership role is no longer questioning just reform, or one or another question of change, but is posing the question of questions--he is concerned not with modernizing the way society functions, but rather is concerned with the fundamental tenent of socialism, the people's power.

Nevertheless, certain social science studies have expressed views that lean in this direction. They question the party's ability to concommittantly renew the functioning of society and to renew its own activities in the interest of fulfilling the party's historic mission. These expressions amounted to no more than the formalized logic of deductive speculations. This is so because the Communist party has renewed itself more than once during the past seven decades. Moreover, it did so in the midst of social struggles. It did so in order to lead progressive forces in the interest of the working people, while giving full recognition to contemporary needs.

This is why it is necessary to talk about the party and party unity, and in the context of these, about reform. We must treat these subjects in a manner sensitive to both sides. Party unity is the definitive element of the stability of socialist society. Historical experience proves that a divided party has never been able to become a leading force. Nor could a divided party endure for long or lead the political struggle in times when there was no single will with respect to the realization of the objectives. This is also relevant in today's context. But beyond relevance, party unity gains increased significance today, considering the fact that social processes must be directed within an institutional system in which a single party, the vanguard of the working class, the Communist party organizes and makes up the determining forces of society. [passage omitted]

This party has suffered significant damage not only from its enemies, but also by virtue of its own mistakes and errors, and by distortions of its own policies. The party has always learned from these mistakes. In the final instance, it was this party, the MSZMP, that renewed itself in its present form, in the midst of the gravest of crises, in November 1956. Well then, our party now recalls the anniversary of its rebirth with a sense of self-examination, rather than with joyous celebration. This kind of objective self-examination must not be abandoned by any serious Marxist-Leninist party. It is self-examination that is necessary both in times of crises and in today's peaceful, consolidated environment, following 3 decades that have been enriched with achievements of creative work. Continuous self-examination is

equally necessary in extended periods of stability and peace, as well as in times of crisis....The party does not respond by saying that all issues were clarified a long time ago both in theory and in practice, nor do we say that we have found time tested, crystal clear answers. Nevertheless we cannot be satisfied with "ready-made conclusions." One must know how to find his way in the midst of changing realities. We have a duty to critically observe these changing realities. Our party does not entertain dangerous illusions even under stable circumstances. The party has suffered enough in the past because of such well-nurtured illusions.

When it comes to indispensable reforms, however, the MSZMP has the courage to break with past processes and routines, and is able to dispense with mediocrity. The party does not disregard issues that have been raised with respect to the party's role and its work, even if the "enemy's voice" can be heard behind the questions. Although sometimes we may disregard these.

Since Marxism has existed as a scientific revolutionary theory, the bourgeoise has always attacked most vociferously the teachings of the revolutionary party. Since socialism has existed in reality and in social practice, its enemies first and foremost have tried to discredit the party and its leading role. This is understandable since it is the main security and guarantee for the socialist movement and the social order. Our party is attacked and judged by all external and domestic enemies of socialism, be they externally prompted or not, nevertheless they stand objectively in their service. They do harm openly or covertly, verbalized or un-verbalized as do also perhaps even well meaning thinkers, who subjectively with all certainty feel themselves to be adherents of socialism. The actual affect of their criticism, nevertheless, is in harmony with anti-communist attacks. They attack our party by employing the entire system of bourgeoise reasoning, albeit the obvious interests of captialism are reflected in their reasoning, and serves the cause of international imperialism. They present the leading role of the Marxist party, the democratic development of the one party system to be primary obstacles to democracy. They consider our political institutional system which is built on the leading role of the party to be unsuited for the development of democracy or for furthering economic management or the process of social reform. Thus by this they understand such structural changes in the political institution system which would leave hardly any room for the party. Its determining role would disappear.

Our task would be simple if we only had to face inimical or opposition-type attacks. Concommittantly, however, facts become apparent, which indicate that our system of political institutions does not everywhere and always function irreproachably or adequately to meet the demands of the era, or the societal tasks that it is confronted with. We also have to recognize that the work of our party is not effective enough. We are examining these facts with the necessary criticism and self-criticism.

In the last 30 years significant structural changes have taken place in our system of political institutions. It is enough here to cite the development of the alliance movement and the modernization of the enterprise management bodies, workers forums, and of the council system. The party was the initiator of these--and will also be in the future, even if concrete proposals and solutions are at present seemingly not worked out. However, this type of research is under way in academic areas. Studies are being prepared. Conservatism holds that our institutional system "is good, the way it is." It has to change so that it can function better

We are debating with determination all those views, criticisms, all such open or hidden proposals, all such pseudo-reform attempts which under the pretext of furthering the social reform process would like to transform our society in such a way that would weaken or dissolve the leading role of the party. This would not be development but

backtracking, and it would not move democracy forward, rather it would do the opposite. The basis of socialist and workers democracy would be stripped away. Our party with conscious responsibility rejects this in defense of the most important achievement of the socialist revolution It does this with the responsibility it owes to our whole nation, and to our historical mission. Our party opposes any real conservatism, and it opposes any feelings of self-complacency, inertia, stagnancy, cynicism, or passivity which would allow its work or our system of political institutions to become obsolete or rigid. The party has and always will be the driving force of the genuine process. We will not surrender this task, this mission of formulating the reform era or allow backtracking, or any factors which lead or drift in the direction of bourgeoise development--which from the prespective of socialism are retrograde areas. We will not allow them to be taken out of our hands and to be expropriated for themselves as banners.

On this issue the party is waging a two-pronged struggle. For almost 3 decades it has moved forward with two fronted sensitivity toward the process of economic and social reform. It will not allow itself to be blackmailed by any type of pseudo-reform urgency, or any type of pseudo-radical intolerance, or to give way to any such solutions with would be tantamount to diverging from the path of socialism. Nor does the party consider its previous practices to be everlasting solutions. The party does not dogmatically insist upon the retention of means that have been created and applied as a matter of historic necessity. Its practice renewed, the party will not be paralyzed by virtue of pseudo-leftwing conservatism. Nor will the party allow itself to be rushed into premature decisions, just so that it looks like a "reformer."

The center piece of today's ideological struggle and political experimentation is the single-party system that has evolved under socialist conditions. The MSZMP has taken a firm position with respect to the issue of single-party versus multi-party systems. Janos Kadar has defined that position recently:

"...it is history that yielded a single-party system to Hungary. This system will continue to be a single-party system. In view of historic experience, we believe that having a single-party system is a practical, rather than a theoretical consideration of society -- a practical consideration, as practical matters are being decided upon on the basis of actual developments within any given nation. In today's world some socialist countries have a single-party system, in others we find several parties functioning. It is my view that in future phases of the development of socialist world order the number of nations with more than one party will increase."[passage omitted]

What does the statement that "it is history that yielded a single-party system to Hungary" mean? Well, the history of our party shows a number of occasions in which things were just "yielded." But these things have always been yielded amid critical circumstances and not always with an identical content.

In 1944-45, at the time our nation was liberated, history once again raised the issue of a single-party versus a multi party system. And since Hungary was liberated by the Soviet army, many found it plausible that Hungary too would have a single-party political system lead by communists. Those who thought this way were primarily the representatives of non-communist forces. They did not trust the seriousness of the Soviet Union's expressed intent according to which the Soviet Union was not about to force any liberated nation to accept its own socio-political system, and that instead, the Soviet Union would leave the choice to the people of the various liberated nations.

Indeed, democratic-minded, anti-fascist forces and parties had to be encouraged to begin their functioning. They too had been outlawed toward the end of the war, just as

the Communist Party had been forced underground during the Horthy system. The extreme right-wing parties, the ones that occupied the parliament of Horthy's Hungary, went down with the system. They have proven their inability to provide leadership to the nation: it was obvious that they lacked both strength and ability to organize society. They were both humanly and morally bankrupt. This is why reactionary groups and remnants of social classes had no fertile soil in which to recapture power as an independent political force, organized as a political party. They had no opportunity to do so in a nation that was just regaining consciousness. They did grab an opportunity nevertheless, to have their reactionary views prevail within the framework of the fledgling democracy by joining bourgeois parties that were being organized. It was the multi-level, fractioned structure of these parties that provided the opportunity.

The Hungarian Communist Party [MKP] did recognize this as a peculiar form of evolving class struggle. It was partly for this reason that in the ensuing political struggle the MKP drew a line between the left-wings of these coalition parties on the one hand, and the hostile forces organizing in their midst, on the other. It was a peculiar phenomenon of our political system that within the government, the bourgeois parties and to an extent the social democrat party (both of which have cooperated with the communists), were to be viewed simultaneously both as allies and as foes. This type of class struggle required sensitivity, firmness and circumspection by the Party. The real danger appeared to be that in their struggle against the right these political forces would bleed to death. At that point in time these forces already had joined the communists, or were in the process of approaching the communists.

Following the nation's liberation the single- versus multi-party dilemma temporarily favored the latter. Meanwhile, however, the Communist Party, joined by leftist social democrats, and by the left-wing of smallholder and peasant parties, had fulfilled some popular demands and has scored with demonstrable achievements of significant proportion. The coalition that had been wrought amid sharp political struggle characterized by arguments and in-fighting, acquired the confidence of a popular majority, nevertheless. In the elections of 1947 the coalition achieved a superior and absolute victory. In the process the right-wings of the coalition parties had been effectively disorganized. They broke away and began organizing once again, this time in the form of small parties. As such they had become the repositories of retrograde forces and have thus been defeated. The years that followed liberation represent a revolutionary era of rich heritage; it represents a political struggle that established workers' rule as well as the socialist system following the merger of the two workers' parties.

Following the "year of change" (1948-49) during which socialist rule had been achieved in Hungary, once again raised the alternative of single- versus multi-party rule. At that time the issue was raised in the form of a "what now" question. In response the leadership of the Hungarian Workers Party [MDP], while casting aside individual judgment with respect to each political party, abandoned the possibility of either theoretical or practical cooperation with these parties or the possibility of assuming joint responsiblity. The MDP "solved" the problem by forming a single-party system. In the process, the left-wing coalition forces had been condemned to languish in a questionable, limited role to be subsequently diminished even further, and the role for the People's Front was limited. Alternatively, they had been viewed as the enemy. In the context of that era the "history that yielded" concept--the fact that our party remained on the political scene as the only party--is both theoretically and politically faulty and mistaken.

The then fledgling, but in the ensuing years characteristic political distortions perpetrated by the single-party system, including the so called "foundation ideologies"

that supposedly justified these distortions, had prevailed in varying degrees in other socialist countries as well as in the international communist and workers movement also. The voluntary response of 1948-49 that has been given to the single-party versus multi-party issue, revenged itself later.

The issue surfaced once again, but under quite different circumstances and political conditions. The parties that had ceased to exist, or whose activities had been suspended in the early 1950's have once again reappeared during the events following the 1956 "counter-revolution". The small holders party and the peasant party reemerged as the Petofi party; and so did the the right-wing of the social democrats and the bourgeois democrats. Finally, beginning toward the end of October, during the second phase of the counterrevolution, a host of "Christian", right-wing, and some openly fascist parties appeared. Threatened by public condemnation, these parties could not even have emerged following our liberation. During the bloody days of 1956, however, almost 70 large and small, old and new parties unfurled their banners.

What characterized these parties? They covered a broad range of the spectrum starting at the extreme right, ending as moderate, centrist or middle-of-the-road parties. A variety of platforms had been adopted, often in sharp conflict with each other concerning then current issues and the future. There were some who recognized the great socio-political changes that have occurred since 1945, such as the nationalization [of enterprises], land reform, etc. Considering their own base of support, it was impossible for them to do otherwise. Others declared null and void every law, order and governmental action that came about since liberation. There were groups that projected vaguely perceived images of socialism; vague, because the terminology that had been used against socialism would have turned broad strata of people against these groups.

The extreme right, on the other hand, did not even bother to consider popular resistance. It openly advocated the idea of capitalist restoration. Moreover, certain parties organized for the restoration of the Kingdom, and, under the leadership of Mindszenty, for the restoration of the political and economic power of the Church. And yet others openly organized for the introduction of a fascist dictatorship.

They all agreed in principle, though. Sensing the depth of the political and moral crisis, and somewhat later, recognizing the bankruptcy of the MDP, they did not give room for communists in the bourgeois system they were about to restore. If only in words, moderate elements distanced themselves from bloody anti-communist action. Communist-appointed Prime Minister Imre Nagy was viewed as a transitional figure only. They considered him as a tool to fulfill their international political demands, notably the abandonment of the Warsaw Pact and the removal of Soviet forces from Hungary. Once accomplished, Nagy would have been set aside. And Nagy proved to be ready to entertain such demands under these circumstances.

During the weeks that followed November 4, 1956 the formation of a multi-party system of socialist character seemed to be a distinct theoretical and practical possibility. The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Cabinet and the reemerging party, the Interim Central Committee and the Executive Committee of the MSZMP did indeed initiate negotiations with the leaders and partners of the 1948-49 coalition. The MSZMP had sought an opportunity for cooperation, and had sought political partners and helpers at the deepest point of crisis in order to reestablish and to normalize life, and to reorganize the political system that had fallen apart. The party considered it as its natural duty to satisfy the rightful demands of the people. Among the slogans of the October mass-movements were those seeking to remedy the injuries suffered by the nation, as well as the need for broadening democracy. Quite understandably, however,

as a Marxist workers' party the MSZMP could not regard as serious any idea that would have reverted to a bourgeois democracy, even if such ideas were couched as "demands by workers." On the other hand, governance in the framework of a multi-party system that was fundamentally socialistic in nature, both in principle and in character, would not have been in conflict with the communist perception.

It was not the MSZMP's doing that these efforts failed to bear fruit. Representatives of these parties were not willing to jointly serve the interest of the people; they did not want to cooperate. As a pre-condition for cooperation they asserted political demands that showed a lack of realism and no sense of social responsiblity.

In other words, historic circumstances have once again "yielded" a situation in which the communist party was left to itself in the political struggle. The communist party was forced to once again reorganize the political, social, economic and cultural life in the framework of the single-party system. There was a fundamental need for the party to regain the confidence of working people. All this had to be realized within a difficult, sharply polarized, two-sided battle. It was not only the right-wing, the revisionist, and counterrevolutionary forces that had to be reckoned with, but also those left-wing sects which, at the end of 1956 and in early 1957 were intent to continue the writing of history where the failed leadership of the MDP had left off.

The MSZMP emerged from the tragedy of the 1956 counterrevolution not as the successor of the MDP, but as a renewed party. In the narrow sense of the word however, it was not really new. It became a communist, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist workers party, the party of the working people, in the original meaning of these terms. From the first moment on, the MSZMP took seriously and restored in practice the Leninist principles and standards the Rakosi regime had paid lip service to, but in reality had cast aside and made a mockery of. This fact served as the basis for the MSZMP to regain the confidence of the people within a short period of time, both in the political sense and on the human level.

Our party has passed one of the toughest tests presented by history. 30 years ago it established the foundations for its professed mission by organizing its own ranks. This was the primary and decisive link in the chain of reorganizing the socialist political system. The substantive activities of the MSZMP began with party reform, a clarification of the party's principles, and the restoration of the party's political, ideological and moral solidity. The MSZMP established its policies based on the dialectic unity of revolution and reform. The defeat of the counterrevolution, the restoration of the leadership role of the party, the solidification of the workers' power, the reorganization and bringing into motion the various social processes were all organic parts of the socialist revolution.

In a revolutionary fashion, the MSZMP had shed itself and society of the distortions of socialist development. Using a firm hand, it did away with "counter-revolutionary" forces. The MSZMP used the same determination to reject efforts that would have attempted to restore the practice of failed, sectarian leadership. By restarting production, the MSZMP opened the door for socialist legitimacy to prevail. It is undoubtedly true that with respect to agriculture, the MSZMP spearheaded certain revolutionary transformations that were consistent with Marxist-Leninist principles. By necessity this same effort had gained expression within the policies of the government.

This period of quick, forceful change and transformation had to be followed by a period of stability and balanced progress. Once the foundations of socialism were complete in

1962, the great social movements had once again settled. The Hungarian people were ready to embark upon a road to progress designed to realize further development of revolutionary achievement through consistent modernization and through the reform of economic and social processes. It is in this spirit that the MSZMP views reform as the organic and natural tool of its policies. Reform does not mean the indirect, covert or overt recalling of the past, so far as the MSZMP is concerned. To the contrary, reform serves the continuation, the further development of existing achievements, of the existing situation, in the context of the MSZMP's revolutionary mission.

True, in 1956-57 the term "reform" was not in fashion. It only became fashionable during the 1960s, in conjunctions with the reform of economic management. It was then that the term came into common usage. Viewing its foundations nonetheless, the reform movement had its origins in November 1956.

Viewing the thirty-year developmental process as a whole, it is justified to call it a socialist reform. The rebirth of the party at the same time was also a reform. The rebirth of its Leninists principles and standards have proven both their past and their present validity: The party is capable of discarding bad practice. It is capable of facing its own mistakes and is capable of renewing its own ranks. It can conduct its activities in the interest of its class, and in the interest and to the benefit of the working people.

The framework of economic management reform was not yet visible, when significant steps were taken in the area of economic reform. Abolition of the system of compulsory produce deliveries, the formation of profit motive within industrial plants and collectives, the discontinuation of agricultural machinery stations, etc. demonstrate the new intent. Reorganization of the political institutional system was not initially accompanied by significant structural transformations. The work of these institutions must be inspired by a new spirit that corresponds to new circumstances. With respect to its functional place in the process, the party's leadership role did not come into question, but direct orders gradually yielded to management techniques that were based upon the influence and the work of Communists who worked within state and social organizations and movements. Thus the independence, the responsibility and the initiative of these institutions has significantly increased. As a result, and particularly since 1962 when the process of consolidation had come to an end, the socialist foundations for the development of a socialist democracy had been broadened by way of a top-to-bottom reorganization of the agricultural sector. It would be a narrow view of the past and present intensity of political and social reform, were we to disregard the significant changes that have occurred during the initial revolutionary period and in subsequent years. The party has been, and to date continues to be, the initiator, the implementor and the organizer of these changes and of the reform processes.

A change, modernization and related reform steps of political institutions is a necessary companion to economic management reform that began in 1968, as well as of the present need to continue that reform. The substance of these changes may be seen in several of its aspects, e.g. multi-step democratic changes in the election system, modernization of both the central and local governments and of representative bodies, rationalization of public management, the broadening of functions and activities of social and mass organizations and movements, and the broadening of their significance, such as that of KISZ, the trade unions and the Patriotic People's Front.

New interest groups have emerged within the political institutional system during those years. Leading the work of associations is TOT [Society for the Dissemination of Knowledge], KISZ [Communist Youth League] and SZOVOSZ [National Association of

Cooperatives], as well as the Chamber of Commerce. The latter represents the interests of enterprises, and with a change in roles, also of small producers and merchants. These organizations serve as forums of merit through which interests can be made to prevail. We share the view that economic reform, supposed to increase the effectiveness of socialist production, is inseperably connected to, and is mutually supportive of political-social reform that allows the evolution, broadening and deepening of the socialist democracy. We have not reached the end of these processes, and we do not intend to slow down these processes. As a matter of fact, it is the party that is at the forefront of these processes, even though in the meantime this had been argued, and there had been some temporary doubts in this respect.

Once again today, the MSZMP is a Marxist party ready for renewal. It is the party that focuses on the interests of the people. It is the party of the present and of the future, it is a young party, in the political sense of that term. It is a party which, by relying upon scientific recognition, can accurately sense the demands of the final years of the 20th century as well as those of the next century.

Having been at the forefront of reform processes, our party has been sensitive from the beginning with respect to fighting conservative forces and endeavours that retard or hinder the progress of economic and sociopolitical change. Not only have we in mind those various midlevel positions in our sociopolitical life that are incapable of performing in a manner consistent with new, changed or changing demands, but also those who secretly rejoice when they see "capitalist methods" in new forms of economic management and leadership. We also have in mind those, who do not enjoy the changes, but instead subjectively and honestly stick to the situation that has prevailed a decade ago, and are protectively concerned about our party because of these new forms and methods.

But we have more in mind. There are instinctive pressures within the working masses, when people must swallow the bitter pills produced by efforts to enhance socialist production. The number of such people is quite large: They are "nostalgic" about the "happy" days when they did not have to deal with price changes in the interest of making production more effective, when they did not have to worry about regrouping of the labor force throughout the economy. These people fail to recognize that if we were to stick to the economic practices of 20 or 25 years ago, the productivity of the Hungarian economy, its international stability and the resultant standard of living would be far below that of the present level. They do not recognize that the work routine and life style they were accustomed to earlier is untenable under the changed circumstances, and would have lead to economic, social and political bankruptcy.

Conservative forces and instincts are not the only ones our party which leads the reform process, must confront. The party must also look to the other side, at the opposite front: at those who emerge there and are letting their voices be heard with increasing strength and with more menace.

Both the Western and the domestic enemies of our political-social reform process (which has necessarily become intertwined with the economic reform process) see an excellent opportunity for undermining our socialist conditions. This is obvious, since transformation necessarily creates tension and conceals certain obstacles. Here we are talking about extremely complicated, subliminal campaigns -- ones that frequently appear as misleading also to socialist-minded people -- ones whose overt or covert message can be clearly understood only by reading between the lines. Participants in this campaign include the foreign anti-Communist propaganda machinery as well as the domestic opposition, all of whom had used the pretext of the 30th anniversary to turn their amplifiers to the highest volume. Occasionally and unintentionally, the domestic press also falls in this trap. It adopts certain ideas that appear as attractive, and arguments with substance that are actually anti-socialist in nature.

Quite understandably, today's reform idea in Hungary is very attractive, and very respectable. Today it is unlikely that anyone would want to be stigmatized as an anti-reformer. Many compete as to who is more reform minded, who is more courageous, more radical with respect to reform. In this heated, exacerbated atmosphere it takes refined hearing and sharp eyes to note that what appear to be extreme, radical reform endeavours transcend into becoming their own opposites, namely, that they would hinder progress. We Communists and our allies who accept socialism, thus constituting a large majority of the population who believe in the socialist system, are indeed for reform, but in a consistent manner. Reform is one thing -- giving a face-lift to old ideas is another.

Pseudo-radical reform endeavours appear to be foggy, and for this reason they cause turmoil, thus fulfilling the hopes of both the domestic and foreign enemies of socialism. What do we say, for example, to those "reform endeavours" which advocate "political reform" just like that, in general terms, without mentioning specifics? Do they want to change politics, the substance of the social order itself? Our party exercises self-criticism with respect to its work and is prepared to consistently improve its work. The opportunity for local autonomy, for citizen initiative and for a transformation providing a possibility to act must be set into motion--it must be opened up. The most important steps in this respect must be taken in the near future.

But what can we do with criticism that places the party in an adverse light? One that depicts the party as a hindrance to reform, and views the party as unnecessary within the political institutional system? What do we do with some vague statements according to which the "large organizations," including the party, should be considered as "interest groups" at best? And they would be replaced by formations that are meant to represent and to enforce the special interests of various social strata and of various groups. A transformation of the political institutional system in which there would be no place for the party, no place for socialist governance and no place for state power. Should we view ideas that advocate the complete separation of the party from governmental policies as a legitimate demand for reform? Such demands lack reality and do not exist even in bourgeois democracies. Should we view the motivation of "grass-root movements" that have as their expressed aim the full decentralization of our political institutional system as valid demands for reform? Let us not continue. No modern society has ever functioned without central direction. Concerning their substance, political organizations and institutions in every society came about and took shape as a result of organic development, and not as a result of subjective intent, of the temporary boom of certain groups, or of selfish calculations.

Anarchy and chaos occurs in the absence of rational guidance of socio-political processes. However attractive it may sound, in the absence of proof we must reject any perception that considers only those efforts as modern and functional that come about spontaneously, and views as inherently conservative anything that is organized and disciplined.

It is in the most genuine, most comprehensive interest of the Hungarian nation to bring about a developed socialist society that is more perfect than the one we have today. Our party's policies sustain and express this most comprehensive interest. The entire work of the party serves this purpose. But the party is never going to jeopardize the foundations and achievements of socialism. By leading the initiation and organization of the reform process the party is urging socialist positions and that true development be strengthened.

Is the MSZMP a reform party? No, it is not. It is a revolutionary party. But firm political power is the bulwark of socialism, and it is through reforms, under stable

domestic conditions that this bulwark leads to development. The party views reform as part of the revolution, as part of the revolutionary transformation of society. Reform is indispensable for the party in the interest of bringing about a fully socialist society. It is precisely for this reason that the MSZMP cannot allow that the idea of reform be expropriated by persons unauthorized, and that they violate the spirit of reform. Consistent with Lenin's ideas and responsive to the needs of the present and of the future, the party consistently progresses on the road charted thirty years ago, while rejecting any and all efforts of restoration that have surfaced under the pretext of reform.

ORZECHOWSKI MEETS HIROHITO, NAKASONE

LD202153 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] On the second day of his visit to Tokyo, Marian Orzechowski, minister of foreign affairs, met Emperor Hirohito of Japan, and then held talks with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. During that meeting the head of Polish diplomacy expressed the hope that the Japanese Government would create favorable conditions for the successful development of our relations, and would support the participation of the Japanese private sector in cooperation with Poland. Yasuhiro Nakasone announced that the matter of conditions concerning guarantees given by the Japanese Government for export credits would be examined.

Minister Marian Orzechowski, on behalf of Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner, has invited Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to pay an official visit to our country. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

VATICAN REGRETS URBAN REMARKS ON METROPOLITAN

LD201650 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw -- The Press Bureau of the Episcopate of Poland, in connection with the statement by the government spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban, printed in TRYBUNA LUDU of 19 November, on the subject of the visit to London by Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz, the Wroclaw metropolitan, expresses astonishment that an official government representative should spread unverified news and do it in words full of irony and spitefulness, insulting the person of the cardinal metropolitan of Wroclaw. In addition, it is astounding, we read in the statement by the Press Bureau of the Episcopate of Poland, that the government spokesman should try to interpret the intentions guiding Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz during his London visit. Thw Wroclaw metropolitan and member of the Main Council of the Episcopate of Poland, on his pastoral visit to London, celebrated Holy Mass for a congregation of compatriots in the Polish Church and, before that, had a meeting in the Polish House with selected Poles and not with any kind of representatives. In any case, he had never met them before and he did not organize the meeting, nor did he invite the guests to it.

What sensible person, the Press Bureau of the Episcopate asks in its statement, would be surprised at a representative of the Church in Poland meeting compatriots living abroad? All allusions and spiteful remarks on this subject only discredit the person who made them.

U.S.-IRAN AFFAIR CALLED 'CONSPIRACY OF AMATEURS'

LD192115 Warsaw PAP in English 1534 GMT 19 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19 -- What we have been witnessing of late is a classical show of amateurs trying to pursue American foreign policies, the secret arms supplies to Iran, approved by Ronald Reagan himself and kept top secret from his closest aides being obviously the case.

The affair revealed, it sent a wave of confusion throughout the world and the United States. The Department of State and its chief George Shultz dissociated themselves from the President's decision which in itself is an unprecedented move and one discrediting the President, too.

The West European capitals are shocked and feel they have been deceived. The American public opinion gave no credit to Ronald Reagan's explanations, either. The developments proved that the President and his advisors tend to play risky games and take no account of the realities of the situation in the world and its crucial flashpoints.

The affair is altogether sad, and even appalling. This is a "conspiracy of amateurs". After all, such Bond-style games are being staged by politicians having huge means and unimaginable forces of destruction at their disposal, by people whom we expect to display a particular responsibility for their own moves, and who, to the astonishment of the world, showed a singular lack of that responsibility and an inclination to senselessly amateurish show-offs.

Gadomski Commentary

LD201336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] At a press conference in Washington at 0200 Warsaw time the U.S. President stated that he assumes full responsibility for the sharply criticized arms delivery to Iran. At the same time he admitted that his close associates were against the deal. Here is a commentary by Jan Gadomski:

[Gadomski] The President has denied a rumor that Secretary of State George Shultz would resign as a protest against supporting Iran with U.S. arms. However, the rumor in Washington continues. There is also talk about the expected resignation of Presidential National Security Adviser Admiral John Poindexter and White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan. This is, indeed, a political earthquake in the White House. It shows the shocking extent of adventurist policy, shocking even for the Americans who are not surprised at anything.

It appears yet again that the President not only acts against U.S. law, not only ignores the Congress and its statutory powers, but also acts contrary to the opinion of members of his government. But first of all he departs from the truth, to put it mildly, as is appropriate for a head of state who is also an actor.

Such a departure from the truth also happened at the President's recent press conference. Reagan stressed that no third state was involved in the U.S. arms delivery to Iran. He said this when it was commonly known that some U.S. deliveries were reaching Iran via Israel. Here the world saw an unusual show. Exactly 25 minutes after the U.S. President's press conference an additional statement from him was published. In the statement Ronald Reagan admitted that he had made a mistake during the conference, and that a third state was involved in the secret project of arms delivery to Iran.

One question remains unanswered. What Presidential statement can be believed without fear that he is wrong again? Reagan stated that the Iran operation was a high risk game. High risk games can attract a man brought up on cowboy movies, this is understandable. But they should not and must not be an attribute of the foreign policy of a great power, if this power wants to remain credible and if it wants to be treated as a responsible part of the world balance of forces.

Ronald Reagan struck a blow at U.S. policy in the world and also struck a blow at himself. He was sharply reminded of this by former President Carter, the same Carter who today has his satisfaction as it was he who suffered political defeat as the result of an inconsistent and ineffective policy on the same Iran.

THREE ACTIVISTS SENTENCED, SEVEN STILL DETAINED

AU201826 Paris AFP in English 1759 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 20 (AFP) -- Seven anti-government activists arrested in Krakow from July to September this year are currently in detention despite a September 15 government amnesty affecting all political prisoners, the prisoners' families said in a statement here Thursday.

The prisoners, aged from 22 to 31 and some of them students, are accused of having tried to disrupt May Day celebrations in Krakow. They are in prison awaiting trial at least until next January, according to a court decision quoted in the statement.

They face up to five years in jail for what is viewed as a "terrorist" act here: firing off leaflets from rooftops around the Krakow market place where the May 1 celebrations were to take place.

In a separate incident, two students and a librarian in the southeast city of Lublin arrested Monday were sentenced Wednesday to fines of 30,000 to 50,000 zlotys (150 to 250 dollars) because police found in their homes a typewriter, a copying machine and a small number of texts written by the opposition.

MALINOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON SEJM UNDERTAKINGS

PM141329 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Oct 86 pp 1, 8-9

[Interview with Dr Roman Malinowski, Sejm speaker and chairman of ZSL (United Peasant Party) Supreme Committee, by GAZETA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Jozef Bartoszewski; date and place not given]

[Text] [Bartoszewski] As we know, we have a coalition system of power in Poland. It manifests itself, among other things, in the fact that various posts in a number of representative and executive institutions are filled, by election or appointment, with party members, members of other political parties and Christian associations, and nonparty people. From these premises follows the principle, applied with particular consistency after 1957, that the chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee is proposed for and elected to the post of speaker of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. Such instances are what I would call formal manifestations of the coalition system of power. There are also other, substantive manifestations, and these are far more significant.

[Malinowski] Both arise from tradition, from long-standing and not so long-standing common experience. After all, In the years 1922-28 the post of Sejm speaker was held by Maciej Rataj, an eminent activist of the peasant movement. After the war, in the period 1947 to 1952, the same post was held by Wladyslaw Kowalski, writer, politician and a ZSL leader. There also exists a more deeply rooted tradition, which is a consequence of the peasant-worker alliance that the workers movement and the peasant movement arrived at through decades of joint struggle for social progress and national liberation. [paragraph continues]

This is attested to by such things as the PPR's [Polish Workers Party's] November 1943 program declaration "What We Are Fighting For," which took into account not only the experience and the needs of the workers movement but also those of Poland's entire left: The Communists, the populists, the socialists, and the democrats. They all met soon after that on the National People's Council, taking joint responsibility for the fortunes of the whole nation. That is how the coalition principle was engendered. It was to undergo many vicissitudes. There were periods of partnership between the party and the other political parties, but also times when the other parties were satellites to the party. This was bad for everyone, and most of all for Poland. Our crises exemplify that, because in the "transmission" [as published] period we ran short of values normally generated by every genuine coalition, such as mutual respect, loyalty, and trust, values that allow for argument, for dispute, for arriving together at optimum solutions -- that is, for jointly building and jointly assuming responsibility. That is why after 1980 we decided to return to the historically formed principles of the coalition system in the exercise of power. The debates of the ZSL Supreme Committee's Seventh Plenum which took place 31 March 1982, were attended by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. It was the first such occurrence in our history.

[Bartoszewski] Later, there was the joint, Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee.

[Malinowski] Also the first one in the history of our mutual relations. But please note that 2 years passed between the decision to convene it and the date it took place. It took us many sessions of diverse joint commissions and high-level meetings between specialists, a lot of work carried out in party circles and primary party organizations and at primary and intermediate level party echelons, and many heated arguments and cool analyses to elaborate together the program that was subsequently approved at the joint Ninth Plenum. The program deals not only with material issues but also -- and this is important in any kind of strategy for economic development -- with the sphere of psychological motivations. Farmers often say these days that they walk with their heads held high. It is well known that people gain heart when they are treated seriously, when their hard work is appreciated along with the dignity of their vocation, the traditions in which they were raised, and their potential as partners. As recently as 15-20 years ago young people of peasant origin would, on moving from their rural communities to towns, lose no time at all in shedding the customs and traditions in which they had been raised at home and merging with this or that subculture.

[Bartoszewski] Don't they do it any more?

[Malinowski] Not long ago a photographic exhibition portraying the fortunes of peasant families was held in Warsaw. Comments in the visitor's book, signed by students, workers, and members of the intelligentsia, attested to their pride in their ancestry. And what about the revival of folk culture, that subsoil of any national culture? What about the reawakening of the progressive traditions of the peasant movement? These are the signs of a continuing process of change in social awareness, of growing respect for the inalienable popular values and for their significance for the nation as a whole. All this accumulates and materializes in terms of economic progress.

[Bartoszewski] Our results in agriculture bear witness to this, especially this year's results...

[Malinowski] After all, they are much better than could have been expected from the material resources supplied. What about the almost complete elimination of our negative balance of payments in the foodstuffs turnover with our foreign trading partners, which amounted to nearly 2 billion dollars in 1980? What about the restructuring of our production profile, or the changes in the ancient structure of our rural communities? What about the very considerable improvement in the food market? Figures for calorie, protein, fat, and carbohydrate intake in our country are again significantly in excess of the norms adopted by the World Health Organization. This must be credited to our agricultural policy, which is elaborated jointly and carried out with resolute consistency. Before the 10th PZPR Congress a genuine, realistic debate took place in our ranks. Our recommendations to the congress were taken into considerations to the congress were taken into consideration and reflected in its final documents, dealing not only with the food supply complex but also with the reforms currently being implemented in the country and the condition of the state.

[Bartoszewski] Concern about the state is deeply rooted in the tradition of the peasant movement.

[Malinowski] It is a very strong bias, encoded, as it were, in the consciousness of our activists and rank-and-file members alike. The state represents the highest good and the highest value, to which all other interests must be subordinated: Those of individuals, groups, milieus, classes, and political parties. This enduring, historic tendency stands in harmony with our work, which aims at building a strong, Socialist Poland.

[Bartoszewski] Is this true at all times and at all levels?

[Malinowski] There are, of course, leanings, both in the ZSL and the PZPR -- by now reduced to individual attempts -- toward impairing the partner's strength: "IF I reduce my partner's strength, I will reinforce my own position." Nothing could be more stupid. By reducing your partner's strength you reduce your own and, by the same token, you enfeeble the whole coalition system of alliance, thereby weakening the state. I have repeatedly pointed out that taking good care of one's partner is tantamount to taking good care of oneself, because the system we are in is not one of a tactical nature. It is a strategic system, constituting the driving force for the reforms and for our development. The struggle to reinforce it is a struggle between the new and the old. It is a continuing process, and its course is encouraged to progress in the correct, approved direction at working sessions held both centrally and locally by the PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation Commission, and also through the coalition members collaborating within the government, the Sejm, local administration agencies, self-government bodies, and other structures that operate within the state.

[Bartoszewski] The recent, eighth Sejm carried out a great amount of legislative work. At the same time, legal theoreticians and practitioners, that is, employees in state and economic administration, complain about the plethora of the existing rules and regulations, claiming that many of these are poorly coordinated and demanding a radical tidying of our legislation. However, it is the issue of parliamentary controls that is scheduled to dominate the work of the next, ninth Sejm session. What do you, as Sejm speaker, think about this problem?

[Malinowski] I always treat demands for radical changes with much reserve. I would even go further and say they make me bristle. Of course changes must be made constantly, since progress is synonymous with movement, but they must be well thought-out and they must eventually bring order. That, too, must be a continuing process. [paragraph continues]

It is true that the eighth Sejm worked predominantly in its legislative capacity, passing a total of 203 parliamentary laws, a record number in Polish parliamentary hitory. But that was made necessary at the time by the exigencies of socialist renewal and the need to reform our life and create legislative foundations on which to base the reform. It was necessary so that we could cope with the conflicts that existed then and would always arise again -- since there is no development without conflict -- as we went along, instead of having to cope with them as they continued to accumulate and eventually erupted in the form of crises. That is why we concentrated mainly on four principal subject areas.

[Bartoszewski] Perhaps you could tell us briefly about each of those?

[Malinowski] A discrepancy had emerged in the course of our development between intense development of production capacities and the mechanisms and methods of planning and management. This brought consequences such as poor production results and a slackening of interest on the part of manufacturers directly involved in production. It ended with yet another crisis. To avoid further crises we initiated the reform. It restores the functioning of economic laws and creates favorable conditions for the introduction of measures designed to encourage production efficiency. It also constitutes a series of legal instruments providing the principles and mechanisms of development.

[Bartoszewski] What is the second subject area?

[Malinowski] One of the main causes of -- among others -- the latest crisis was the decay and decline of socialist democracy. It is now being restored with the help of the laws on people's councils and local self-government system, workers' self-management system, trade unions, farmers' social and vocational organizations, the cooperative movement and, finally, the principle of a coalition system in the exercise of power.

[Bartoszewski] What is the third subject area?

[Malinowski] Laws concerning restoration of the indissoluble links between our rights and our obligations. Such links must be established again for the good of the nation and for the benefit of its future.

[Bartoszewski] Finally, the fourth subject area.

[Malinowski] It dealt with our agrarian policy.

[Bartoszewski] The most conspicuous result of the Sejm's legislative work with regard to agriculture was the creation of the constitutional provision guaranteeing peasant families permanent legal title to their land. During the campaigns preceding the elections to the people's councils and the Sejm as well as the 10th PZPR Congress I saw for myself that the provision was still generating high emotions and much misunderstanding. There was much speculation, especially in regions with a high agricultural yield, on how to solve the following dilemma: Because we all feed off it, land is a national asset. However, sometimes farmers who take good care of this asset live side by side with others who hardly bother to make an effort. The proposed solution would be to take land away from the bad farmers, pay them compensation, and turn it over to the good ones: individuals, cooperatives, or state farms. But the constitutional provision precludes this.

[Malinowski] I myself have often said that the provision does not mean that the existing structure of land ownership, which is unsatisfactory in terms of the interests of both rural communities and the state, must remain fixed as it is forever. On the other hand, by creating that provision we have confirmed each farmer's right to a free choice of his farming system -- that right which had been so forcefully stressed by Lenin in his cooperativization plan for agriculture!

[Bartoszweski] Let us recall the essence of that plan.

[Malinowski] Lenin started from the premise that a peasant family farm did not constitute an independent socioeconomic system but one subordinate to the existing fundamental system, which means that within the capitalist system it follows the laws of capitalist economy and in the socialist system those of socialist economy. The next principle is that of the power of example. This is certainly vindicated by what is happening here at present. We have more and more cases where good farmers join good farming cooperatives, having exhausted their individual potential.

[Bartoszewski] And the next principle?

[Malinowski] It is better for us if things get better, not worse. This means that we need equitable, consistent, and stable development conditions for all sectors of the economy. Thus the plan promotes the process of change, evolution, progress, and active participation from the population. There are good, average, and bad enterprises and production units in every sphere of the economy. Elimination of the weak ones, or their elevation to the ranks of the average ones, and the elevation of the average ones to the ranks of the good ones can take place with the help of economic or social mechanisms. It happens seldom, or not at all, when administrative measures are applied. History teaches us which mechanisms are effective and profitable and which end in failure. We once attempted to do away with the patchwork system of individually owned small farms. We thus set traditional rural communities against state farms and farming cooperatives, but the patchwork system remained unchanged. Yet we could do these things differently. We could, for instance, link the operations of restoring arable land to cultivation, building the necessary roads, or completing environmental planning projects in rural communities to reclamation of land by irrigation or drainage. We could encourage farmers to carry out voluntary land exchange by offering them certain incentives, such as tax concessions. The possibilities are many and we should resort to those and avoid the use of administrative injunctions, compulsory land exchange, and other, similar constraints.

[Bartoszewski] Are we equally familiar with other laws and legal acts, and is their practical, everyday application similar?

[Malinowski] We deal with those on a regular basis too. This is a consequence of our policy of constantly perfecting the style of the Sejm's daily work. In the current term of office we are working to restore balance between its individual constitutional briefs: the legislative function, which defines the fundamental guidelines along which the work of the state is to proceed, and the controlling function. The latter is to be given clear precedence. The current Sejm will pass a much smaller number of legal acts, between one-third and one-fourth of the number passed in the preceding term. We are introducing alterations and applying new methods in the procedure. For example, in the future Sejm commissions will be required to comment already on the assumptions being prepared for a new bill, that is, at the preliminary stage of preparing a new act, before the bill is submitted to the government. [paragraph continues]

This means that a bill submitted to the government and, subsequently, to the Sejm will already comprise a "consumer verdict" passed by considerable proportion of deputies. We demand higher quality in Sejm acts as regards precision of formulation and solutions, so that it is not necessary to refer too often to executory documents appended to the acts themselves. A large number of recommendations suggesting the need for a legislative process is provided in the materials of the Constitutional Tribunal, which decides whether our legislation is consistent with the constitution. While analyzing particular problems of the economy and the state we always go back to consider the assessment of the implementation of the approved acts. This is done with a view to creating conditions for their general application and, if and when the need arises, we then update them. This is because some of the acts require amendment, and because few of them have already become fully assimilated into the bloodstream of our society. That also takes time and requires many changes in people's thoughts and attitudes.

[Bartoszewski] Are there any other innovations in the work of our parliament?

[Malinowski] There are some innovations connected with extending the scope of the Sejm's controlling functions. The chairman of the Council of Ministers will present an annual statement containing an assessment of the socioeconomic situation and mapping out the proposed lines of government work. The annual report of the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, with its assessment of the progress of implementation of the decisions issued by the Sejm and its agencies, will also be presented for public debate. We want to add a third voice to those two, that of the chairman of the Polish National Bank. His report would be presented independently of his regular contributions on all crucial issues considered by the Sejm. We want deputies to be informed on such matters as the issue of currency, the value of the zloty, and any new administrative moves directly from the guardian of the state's proper monetary policy. Apart from employing their own accumlated knowledge and consulting the views of their constituents, deputies make active use of government materials and information from the Supreme Chamber of Control, that is, the Sejm's controlling agency, the Socioeconomic Council, which is a consultative agency, the Sejm Advisory Group, and also various experts and Sejm Commissions, as well as consulting the views of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the trade unions, and many other organizations. All these combine to give them a thoroughly comprehensive view of things, which is essential for them because only then can they discharge their controlling duties properly, thereby building up their own and the Sejm's authority and contributing to the task of further development and consolidation of socioeconomic reforms, socialist democracy, and our state.

[Bartoszewski] Thank you for talking to me.

MESSNER INSTRUCTS VOIVODAS ON MAIN TASKS

LD192302 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 19 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19 -- Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner here today met with participants in a seminar of voivodas (governors) which was devoted to the tasks of state administration in the implementation of the PUWP 10th Congress resolutions.

Having heard a report on the social and economic situation in the provinces, Messner instructed the governors -- who are local representatives of the government -- on their most important tasks in the field.

The seminar, held November 18-19, paid special attention to the problems of reviewing and modernization organizational structures, and of simplifying administrative procedures. It also discussed methods for securing the living and health care standards of the citizens, particularly in the field of environment protection, health care and welfare, the sanitary conditions, social peace and order.

MESSNER RECEIVES PROFESSOR, APIARIST

LD202028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Premier Zbigniew Messner has received Professor Szczepan Pieniazek and the chairman of the Main Board of the Horticultural and Beekeeping Cooperative Union's central agency, Adam (?Turman). The topic of the meeting was the problems of expanding the production of fruit and vegetables for export and to supply the domestic market.

SIWICKI RECEIVES ARMED FORCES TRADE UNIONISTS

LD172354 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Nov 86

[Text] Army General Florian Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, has received members of the presidium of the main board and activists of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Armed Forces Employees. Information was provided on the main problems of the union, stressing the cooperation of the commands of all levels and enterprises with the trade union, the cooperation which has been going well.

SZALAJDA CHAIRS ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE MEETING

LD192353 Warsaw PAP in English 2305 GMT 19 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 19 -- A team for organizational structures in the national economy, created as part of a party-government commission for the review and improvement of organizational structures in economy and state, held its inaugural meeting here today.

The task of the team, chaired by deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda, is to work out the directions and the shape of changes in the organizational structures in the economy and the presentation of concrete proposals of solutions in this field.

The goal is to improve management through the creation of such a system of organization which would correspond to long-term strategic goals of the economy and to the needs of its basic links.

Political Bureau Member, PUWP CC Secretary Marian Wozniak, who attended the meeting, expressed the hope that work of the party-state commission and of the team will contribute to the development of science dealing with organization and management and, basing also on solutions already applied in the world, will enable to create the best possible shape of organizational structures.

LEGAL EXPERT INTERVIEWED ON CONSTITUTION

AU121159 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview given by Kazimierz Dzialocha, professor of constitutional law, to Aleksander Checko: "A Climate for the Constitution" -- date and place not given]

[Text] [Checko] There are times when the Constitution is seldom mentioned, and times when there is greater interest in it, as one can tell from the telephone calls we receive from our readers saying: "This is against the Constitution." What, in your opinion, is society's actual knowledge of the principle contained in this little book?

[Dzialocha] It is not excessively great. It depends on other much more complex factors than the size of the print run or the efficiency of the distribution network. I remember when the Constitution was on everyone's lips following its adoption in July 1952: its principles were published, many books appeared on it, and the press wrote about it incessantly. But all this did not originate society's interest in the Constitution, because knowledge of it merely reflects its actual role in the political and economic life of the state, in other words the extent to which it is applied and observed.

Society's interest in the Constitution during the period in question was limited because its practical role was not great and the guarantees that it would be observed were small. This was the result of the constitutional theory current at the time, among other things. The chief emphasis was laid on the educational and political role of the Constitution, which was meant to serve as a record of the achievements of socialist construction. No great importance was attached to the Constitution's inspirational role and to include in it features of a future program. What is most important, however, is that the function of a Constitution as a piece of legislation laying down the legal governing social conduct in a state was forgotten.

We know very well what the consequences were. For example, the legislative and political practice whereby the Sejm was assigned a third rate role was a glaring departure from the principle of socialist democracy contained in the constitution. The same can be said about the Constitutional rights and civic liberties of this period.

[Checko] How was the Constitution interpreted after 1956?

[Dzialocha] The political changes restored society's hopes that what had been written down in the Constitution a few years ago would be actually implemented. The distorted proportions between legislative and executive authority began to return to normal. A central control institution emerged in the shape of the Supreme Chamber of Control, which is subordinate to parliament. Therefore there was visible progress. But there continued to be a lack of full guarantees that the Constitution would be observed in practice, which was very conspicuous when one compared our Constitution with the "second generation" constitutions adopted by the other socialist countries in the 1960's and later. It then transpired that the other constitutions were more precise in the formulation of legal standards and created better guarantees -- which meant that they were more viable.

[Checko] You attach great importance to the way in which constitutional norms are written down. But please explain how it is that the same constitutional text could be interpreted one way in 1952, another way in 1956, and yet another way today. Is it because the Constitution is a framework document and civic rights and duties are laid down by lesser statutes?

[Dzialocha] That is the misfortune of the Constitution, a statute that is necessarily abstract and general (but not vague). Regardless however of the kind of language used in the Constitution, its interpretation or implementation, depends on the political reality it has encountered, in other words on the material guarantees for its implementation. It is not enough to formulate a good constitution and create a paper guarantee that it will be observed. What is needed are political forces, particularly parties, that are concerned for its observance.

[Checko] What experience do we have here?

[Dzialocha] Let us recall the fate of the Constitution of March 1921. What if it did contain democratic principles governing the activity of many state institutions? When the structure of political forces changed, legal guarantees did not change, although their existence over a certain period of time made it difficult to abuse the constitution. History provides further proof that reality may turn a constitution into fiction. The creators of the first modern French Constitution, speaking in the National Assembly shortly after the Great Revolution, warned lest the Constitution merely remain in the book of statutes.

[Checko] Let us move in time and space. What is your view of the clash between constitutional rules and the Polish reality of the 1980's?

[Dzialocha] One must admit that after 1980 a fundamental change occurred in the climate governing the Constitution and its rules. The value of these basic but long-known rules grew, as if we were returning to our roots. The Constitution became a point of reference. It was said, and this was addressed both to the authorities and to citizens in general, that only conduct in accordance with the Constitution deserved acceptance. An observance of the Constitution was regarded as the minimum level of loyalty toward the system and the state on the one hand, and toward the citizens on the other.

It was also said, and this was a social postulate first and was discussed at the Ninth PZPR Congress later, that legal guarantees that the Constitution will be observed create the only chance of defending its values. In such a climate two tribunals emerged -- the State Tribunal, responsible for seeing to it that those occupying top posts observe the Constitution, and the Constitutional Tribunal, checking if lesser statutes conform to the Constitution and making sure that the supreme administrative bodies -- but also the Sejm -- observe the law.

[Checko] The tribunals exist. The Supreme Administrative Court has been fulfilling the hopes placed in it for 6 years already. The concept of spokesman of civic affairs is gaining social acceptance. As far as the number of institutions responsible for guarding the Constitution are concerned, we are attaining a certain optimum situation. What next?

[Dzialocha] Indeed it is difficult to imagine any new revelational institutional guarantee that the Constitution will be observed. [paragraph continues]

All that is left is for us to direct all our efforts toward its implementation. And this depends mainly on the political climate, relations between the PZPR and other parties, and other elements taking advantage of powers that have been granted to them. I have in mind self-management bodies, trade unions, and sociopolitical organizations.

Poland's postwar history proves that the political climate is determined by the way in which the party's leading role is put into practice. It is worth recalling the words of Vladimir Lenin who, speaking about the multiparty system in Soviet Russia, stressed the corrective role able to be played by allies exercising authority jointly with the communist party but still possessing their own ambitions and autonomy.

[Checko] You mentioned various kinds of guarantees for observing the constitution: formal ones such as the State and Constitutional Tribunals, and material ones in the shape of a good political climate determined most of all by the role of the party and its partners. Are these guarantees really enough?

[Dzialocha] Polish crises serve as an example of how much also depends on the democratic mechanisms within the party. But there is also another guarantee which has already been forgotten about even though it is contained in the constitution: "In the PPR, power belongs to the working people of cities and rural areas." That is how the rule reads. The experience of Polish crises shows how high the national consciousness of the Poles is and how sensitive we are to conformity between the activity of a state's components and the principles of the Constitution. A high level of consciousness by the workers class, which has greater requirements, is in a certain sense a "last resort" among other constitutional guarantees.

[Checko] We have been talking all the time about the Constitution in the context of defending its rules against distortion. But, on the other hand, does the present text of the Constitution suit our reality and our ambitions? Is the Constitution fulfilling its role after so much political experience?

[Dzialocha] It has been changed many times since 1934, but, apart from the amendments of 1957, 1976, and 1982, these have been minor, sudden, and not always successful ones.

Please realize that many changes beyond the Constitution have been made in the past, especially recently. I have in mind changes to ordinary Sejm laws, such as the one on economic reform, to which Chapter 2 of the Constitution, written for the centralized economic model, does not fit at all. Another example confirming that legislation usually by-passes the Constitution is the fact that the Constitution does not mention the Supreme Administrative Court. Is it therefore not necessary to lead to a greater conformity between statutory instruments and the Constitution? This postulate crops up every now and then.

The postulate was mentioned at the 10th congress, and the Politburo report even stated the desired time for a change in the Constitution; on the 200th anniversary of the 3 May Constitution ((of 1791 -- FBIS)), in other words in 5 years' time. The congress resolution repeated this postulate, although it did not specify whether the change would involve an amendment or the adoption of a completely new text of a constitution.

BRIEFS

NEW ENVOYS -- Warsaw, Nov. 7 -- Poland's Council of State has appointed new ambassadors. Ryszard Frackiewicz was appointed ambassador in Japan, Zygmunt Pietrusinski was appointed ambassador in the Portuguese Republic, Edward Poradko -- in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and Marian Renke -- in Spain. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1740 GMT 7 Nov 86 LD]

GOMULKA BUST -- Warsaw, Nov. 6 -- A bust of Wladyslaw Gomulka was unveiled here today in front of the Warsaw car factory FSO, where Gomulka was for many years a member of the local PUWP branch. During the ceremony, attended by PUWP CC Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak, Warsaw President Jerzy Boleslawski and Gomulka's son, FSO Director Edward Pietrzak stressed Wladyslaw Gomulka's inseparable link with the history of the Polish workers' movement, his fight for national and social liberation, his contribution to the unification of western and northern territories with the motherland after World War Two and his share in strengthening peace in Europe and in the world. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 6 Nov 86 LD]

CHINESE CULTURAL COOPERATION -- Beijing, Nov. 13 -- A delegation of Poland's Ministry of Culture and Arts with First Deputy Minister Waclaw Janas has paid a visit to China. During the talks with Chinese Minister of Culture Wang Meng and vice-minister Song Muwen, the sides discussed possibilities for development of cultural and scientific cooperation between the two countries. The Polish delegation visited Chinese monuments of arts and familiarized itself with the organization of cultural life in Beijing, Hangzhou and Shanghai. Today, the two sides signed a programme of cultural and scientific cooperation for the years 1987-88 which materializes the government agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation signed during Wojciech Jaruzleski's visit to China last September. The programme envisages exchange of artistic ensembles, exhibitions and various studying groups, an increase of students and scientists exchange and a direct cooperation of universities of the two countries. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 13 Nov 86 LD]

GDR TRADE AGREEMENT -- Berlin, Nov. 16 -- Poland's internal trade and services minister Andrzej Malinowski signed in Berlin yesterday an agreement on market goods exchange between Poland and GDR in 1987. The document envisages deliveries to Poland of GDR's washing machines, footwear, textiles, household and sports articles. The hitherto value of clearing goods exchange between Polish and GDR bordering voivodships has been increased by a half. The sides also signed a protocol on cooperation in science and technology in 1987, which will mainly concern the studies on the rules of organizing trade and service of customers. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1643 GMT 16 Nov 86 LD]

HASANI-CEAUSESCU TALKS CONTINUE IN BUCHAREST

LD201823 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Nov -- Talks began in Bucharest today between Sinan Hasani, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, in which both sides expressed satisfaction with the visit and the meeting. It was said that this confirms the positive trend in the development of mutual relations. It was stressed that the visit of the Yugoslav delegation to Romania represents a stimulus to the further development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation. In a very friendly atmosphere it was emphasized that the regular top-level political contacts and the numerous meetings at all levels and in all areas of cooperation have contributed significantly to the overall development of relations between Yugoslavia and Romania. It was stressed that relations between the two parties -- the LCY and RCP -- make a particular contribution to cooperation, and also that the relations between the two countries have wider significance for the situation in the region and in Europe.

It is an important fact, it was stressed, that our two countries have not simply close relations, but also concurring views on the majority of questions of international relations. The two presidents assessed that there exist opportunities for more successful cooperation in all areas, particularly the economic sphere.

Presidents Hasani and Ceausescu also stressed the need to continue the practice of these meetings. It is reported that they will continue their talks today, during which they will inform each other of the development of the two countries, specific possibilities for expanding relations in all areas, and the activities of the two countries in the international arena.

In separate talks Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Ioan Totu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, conducted an exhaustive exchange of views on specific issues in the bilateral relations between the two countries. Both sides stressed the importance of promoting global bilateral relations and the need to intensify them with regard to specific questions, particularly the furthering of economic cooperation. In this connection the importance was stressed of higher forms of cooperation, industrial cooperation, and specialization in production.

At the same time satisfaction was expressed with cultural and educational cooperaton and it was stressed that broad opportunities exist in a number of specific forms of this cooperation -- between academies of science, universities, faculties, musical and theatrical houses, film companies, and publishing houses.

Views were exchanged on the situation in the information area and the desire was stressed on both sides to expand this. It was stressed that consular relations are developing well and are keeping pace with the trend in overall relations, and that they are following the agreements laid down. The two ministers emphasized the importance and the contribution of the parts of the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene nations living as national minorities in Romania, and of the Romanian nationality in Yugoslavia, to the further development of relations.

Separate talks began in Bucharest today between Nenad Krekic, federal secretary for foreign trade, and Ilie Vaduva, Romanian minister of foreign trade, during which they analyzed the realization of protocols, trade in goods and services in this year, and preparations for concluding a similar document for the coming year. It was said that in the 10 months of this year about $300 million in trade turnover was achieved, while contracts were concluded to the value of $480 million.

The ministers also analyzed the implementation of individual agreements and discussed measures for realizing all contracts, so that the protocol for 1986 is realized to the fullest possible extent. The two ministers will continue their talks on aspects of bilateral economic cooperation.

Toasts Raised

AU202001 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/11/1986 -- Thursday, the RCP general secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu gave an official dinner in honour of the president of the collective Presidency of the SFRY, Sinan Hasani.

The dinner was attended by full and alternate members of the CC of the RCP Executive Political Committee, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the State Council and the government, executives of central institutions, other officials.

Officials who accompany the president of the collective Presidium of the SFRY on his visit to Romania were also attending.

During the dinner, which passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, Nicolae Ceausescu and Sinan Hasani proposed toasts.

VICE PREMIER ANCUTA MEETS INTERNATIONAL BANKER

AU142101 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 14 Nov 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/11/1986 -- Dimitrie Ancuta, deputy prime minister of Romania, received on November 14 Alexander Lamfalussy, director-general of the Bank for International Settlements.

During the interview questions were discussed on financial-banking relations between relevant bodies in Romania and the Bank for International settlements.

The talks were attended by Alexandru Babe, minister of finance, and Florea Dumitrescu, governor of the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

ITALIAN FISHING BOAT INCIDENT DEEMED 'TRAGIC'

LD201730 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Belgrade, November 20 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia today stated regret over yesterday's incident with Italian fishing-boat "Aurora" in which ship's Captain Bruno Zerbin was killed.

The tragic epilogue occured because the fishing-boat, caught illegally fishing in the Yugoslav territorial waters, refused to comply with the order of a Yugoslav border patrol boat to halt, Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman Ambassador Aleksandar Stanic stated today at a press conference in Belgrade.

It is unacceptable, Stanic said, that at the time of an ever increasing threat of terrorism and smuggling a boat should fail to obey the order to stop and identify itself, particularly if found to have entered foreign territorial waters illegally.

Stanic recalled that the Yugoslav Federal Government has already several times drawn the attention of the Italian side to a danger of similar incidents occurring because of Italian fishing boats' illegal entry in the Yugoslav territorial waters.

Yesterday's incident in the northern Adriatic, between Piran and Savudria, occurred only one day after the captain of the Italian ship "Airon", who violated the Yugoslav territorial waters on November 7, was released on bail.

"We consider that it is both sides' interest not to allow the regrettable incident to affect good relations and friendly climate between the two countries, affirmed once again during the recent visit of Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Raid Dizdarevic to Italy," Stanic said.

The spokesman of the Yugoslav Government expressed the hope that the facts and circumstances of yesterday's incident will be objectivelly presented in the Italian parliament and the Italian information media.

STANIC FAVORS NORMALIZATION OF TIES WITH ALBANIA

LD070556 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1537 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Belgrade, November 6 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia continues to favour the normalization and development of good relations with Albania, provided that the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs, the principles on which good-neighbour relations can only be built, are respected.

The above was stated in Belgrade today at a regular press conference by official representative of the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Aleksander Stanic. Stanic set out Yugoslavia's long-term orientation to the policy of good-neighbour relations, peace, security and cooperation in the region.

Stanic answered questions concerning Yugoslavia's stand on parts relating to Yugoslavia of a speech delivered two days ago by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Party of Labour Central Committee first secretary, at the opening of the Albanian party congress. Stanic said that Ramiz Alia repeated old accusations against Yugoslavia and stated false claims about Yugoslavia and its policy towards Albania.

HASANI, DIZDAREVIC RECEIVE NEW ENVOYS

To Romania

AU171958 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Nov 86 p 8

[Text] Belgrade - In the Palace of the Federation yesterday, Sinan Hasani, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Boro Denkov, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to the Socialist Republic of Romania, before his departure on his new tour of duty.

New DPRK Envoy

LD192015 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 19 Nov 86

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Nov -- Sinan Hasani, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Chi Chae-yong, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the DPRK to the SFRY, who presented his credentials. Afterward they spent some time in a friendly conversation that was also attended by Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary foreign affairs.

To PRC

LD192019 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 19 Nov 86

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Nov -- Sinan Hasani, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received credentials from Tian Zengpei, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the SFRY.

The ceremony was followed by a friendly conversation that was also attended by Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

DEFENSE LC BODY DISCUSSES ARMS EXPORTS

LD201907 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Nov (TANJUG) -- More than 90 percent of the arms and military equipment which is currently produced in our country is the result of domestic research and development activities, which is an important factor in strengthening defense capabilities. In the coming years, the defense industry is expected to make an important contribution to the country's technological development. About 30 percent of the research projects and about 70 new technologies to be realized for the needs of the armed forces, will be directly applicable in domestic industry.

These facts were presented today at a thematic conference of the LC in the defense industry at which questions of the development of this activity to the year 1990 were discussed. Attending the conference are delegates from all work organizations in designated areas of production and from organizational units of the defense industry sector. Among the guests are Ali Sukrija, member of the LCY Central Committee; Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, deputy federal secretary for national defense; and Admiral Milun Nikolic, president of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

The defense industry has also achieved notable expert results, it was said at the conference. In recent years exports of arms and military equipment, services and engineering, have been realized to 65 countries, of which 61 were nonaligned or developing countries. Our weapons are the guarantee of the peace and security of these countries and their use is intended to be solely for defense activities.

The participants in the conference expressed conviction that adoption of the documents on the strategy of technological development of the SFRY will lead to greater efficiency in Yugoslav science. This will also facilitate the realization of plans in the sphere of military technology. Already, research in the area of military technology is yielding results which directly stimulate progress in certain branches of the economy, for instance, the production of metal and non-metal materials, the machine tool industry, transport vehicle production, and shipbuilding.

FEDERAL CHAMBER ADOPTS POLLUTION CONVENTION

LD192157 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 19 Nov 86

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Nov -- Today the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly gave support to tasks, measures and activities envisioned in the draft resolution for the next year, while assessing that the proposed policy, in its basic orientation, was in the function of realizing global tasks from the medium-term plan. Taking into account the assessment by proposers that next year a decisive U-turn should be made in the manner of economic activity, in order to achieve a speedier way out of the crisis delegates stressed that it was very significant to synchronize talks and measures in the resolutions with each other, that is, precisely designate those who will cary them out and the deadlines for their realization. The chamber will inform the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, which has the authority to adopt the resolution, about its view.

The view of the Federal Chamber is the result of an extensive discussion on the development policy in the working bodies and at today's session, at which 14 delegates spoke. [passage omitted]

Pointing out that the production of food was low due to the disparity between prices of industrial and agricultural products, Ziga Azemic stressed that it was inadmissible that farmers worked all the year round and did not earn anything.

Supporting economic measures that should stimulate food production, Azemic expressed his fear that they, like many of the measures so far, might remain only on paper because of the lack of responsibility for implementing them. Appealing to the delegates to do everything possible to ensure that the resolution is implemented, he demanded that all those who would not contribute to this should be dismissed without delay. [passage omitted]

The main points from today's discussion led to some kind of changes and amendments in the views that were formed in advance. That they are not just corrective remarks is shown by the fact that a working group that was formed today worked for several hours on formulating the text that will be sent to the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces.

According to the Federal Chamber, the indisputable assumption for realistic planning of development next year should be to perceive the real causes of the failure to implement some of the key orientations from the resolution for this year. In connection with the rates of growth, the orientation is that they should be reexamined and if possible, increased, because the only way out of the crisis is to achieve a more dynamic development. A comment was also made that of extraordinary significance was the increase of production and exports, that is, the adoption of development programs in this area. [passage omitted]

Continuing the session, the chamber adopted a report on the work of the Federal Institute for Patents in 1985. [passage omitted]

Delegates in the Federal Chamber today ratified the convention on cross-border air pollution over long distnaces. It was concluded that by the end of next year the Federal Executive Council should discuss the possibility of adopting a law on environmental protection or a special law on air protection. By the end of February 1987 a program for implementing the convention should be adopted.

The Federal Executive Council was given the task to assess what Yugoslavia should [words indistinct] in particular with foreign countries, in order to solve the problem of environmental pollution.

By ratifying the conventin Yugoslavia took on the obligation of increasing investments in air protection. In the future much more attention should be devoted to this question. All those who ratify the convention by 1993 should reduce discharge of sulphur into the air by 30 percent, or undertake steps in that direction.

The convention was signed in 1979 by all European countries except Albania, and after our country the only one remaining to do so is Romania. [passage omitted]

DRINKING WATER PROTEST MARCH IN KRALJEVO

AU202154 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Nov 86

[Text] At about 1500 today, a procession of several hundred citizens marched through the streets of Kraljevo to express their disgust and indignation at the latest pollution of water in the city waterworks. The marchers carried banners which proclaimed: There has been enough pollution, give us clear water. Here is a report by Radovan Tipsarevic, Radio Kraljevo journalist:

[Begin recording] In Brotherhood and Unity Square, in front of the communal assembly building in Kraljevo, some 200 citizens gathered shortly after 1500, and in a march through the center of the city demanded clean drinking water.

The citizens gathered after they had learned that the concentration of heavy metals -- zinc, lead, coopr, and cadmium -- had increased rapidly in the Ibar, on the banks of which the wells that supply Kraljevo with water are situated. Branislav Milenkovic, president of the Kraljevo Communal Assembly, addressed the dissatified citizens. On the basis of an analysis by the republican Hydrometeorological Institute of Serbia and the opinion of health protection experts, he announced that water in the city waterworks is good for drinking. Milenkovic also added that requests have been sent to the republican organs to press for the release of a larger quantity of water at the Gazivode dam and for a more efficient control of the river water quality by the republican Hydrometeorogical Institute of Serbia.

The citizens of Kraljevo that had gathered requested, however, that all those who have contributed to the fears about the quality of the water that the city drinks every day, as well as those who contributed with their inefficiency to the delay in solving these problems should resign from their posts. [end recording]

Tomorrow the Kraljevo Communal Assembly will discuss the current problems of water supply and the construction of the Gruza-Kraljevo pipeline. As will be remembered, the pipeline should have been completed by 25 May this year. However, the contractor, Montaza of Zrenjanin, has not yet completed all the construction work on the site, and the possibility is being considered of breaking off the contract with Montaza and finding a new contractor for the Gruza-Kraljevo system, so that the Kraljevo citizens may get safe drinking water as soon as possible.

MACEDONIAN PARTY LEADER EXPELLED FROM LCY

LD211020 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0410 GMT 21 Nov 86

[Text] Skopje, November 20 (TANJUG) -- Milaim Fejzi, a member of the top Macedonian party leadership and Albanian by nationality, was expelled this evening from the Republican League of Communists Central Committee, replaced as member of its presidency and disciplined with last warning before expulsion from the party. Last summer Fejzi attended the funeral of a member of the Albanian nationality formerly convicted on charges of hostile activity which turned into a demonstration of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

The Central Committe of the League of Communists of Macedonia has also decided to start procedure for the recall of Azem Zulficari as delegate to the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of Yugoslavia. Zulficari was also at the funeral in Raven, a village in Gostivar Commune, West Macedonia.

At the committee session, which discussed several topics including the serious political situation in Tetov, Gostivar and Kicevo, the three communes inhabited largely by members of the Albanian nationality, it was assessed that Fejzi and Zulficari had revealed a "lack of vigilance and irresponsibility" and that their presence at the funeral was objectively playing into the hands of Albanian separatists.

Hundred of thousand members of the Albanian nationality live in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, especially its western parts, after the 1981 counterrevolutionary demonstrations by Albanian separatists in Kosovo -- a province within the Republic of Serbia -- hostile activity from the same positions spread to Macedonia. Members of a number of Albanian separatist groups and organizations have been discovered, tried and sentenced to various jail terms in both Macedonia and Kosovo in recent years.

BORBA COMMENTS ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

AU201150 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croation 17 Nov 86 p 2

[Milomir Kragovic commentary: "Peace Bells"]

[Excerpts] Even the usually unpredictable GLAS KONCILA [Catholic weekly published in Zagreb] unequivocally states, concerning the initiative about so-called civilian service for Army service, that "a Catholic citizen in possibly making such a request cannot invoke the teaching of his Church." In other words, the Church also rejects the proposal that religious people should not wear the uniform, which in this country of ours has always constituted more than a clear provision of the law -- an honor!

When we are anyhow awash with various ugly and ill meant proposals, the idea of -- in essence -- not serving the Army nevertheless is a direct attempt to minimize the role of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in preserving the borders and to belittle its specific contribution to the development of society. We do not want to be one-sided or malicious, but we cannot negoiate about the YPA. [passage omitted]

What do the representatives of the Slovene youth want?

If they wish that absolute peace, comradeship, and unity should reign all over the earth, implying an abolition of borders and travel without passports, we join them immediately. After all, the Nonaligned Movement, born precisely thanks to such endeavors, strives for the same goal.

But we must not be naive. Is it not sufficiently obvious that for years, reactionary forces have existed that have constantly provoked us, that have wished for and predicted some sort of collapse of ours, and that would like to refashion both history and the borders set long ago. [passage omitted]

The initiative, with which we disagree, "requests" that some believers and the like should be able to join the Army in a privileged way. [passage omitted]

Finally, an allegedly new "peace" attitude toward the YPA is being shortsightedly offered here, but it is offered on the ruins of the existing concept of all-people's defense, socialist morality, and social norms in general. Therefore the dismissive attitude of a little group that in an extreme fashion advocates a civilian army, which would be practically bare-handed, is strange, for at the same time these same people -- to make the paradox more pronounced -- demand tolerance by the majority in examining their unacceptable theses. We will agree that it is almost impossible to counter disqualifications with arguments.

There can be no negotiating. There are no divisions when the defense of the country is at stake and nobody must question this.